

THE
/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /
VOLUME LXIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

The first part of this volume collects six papyri of St. Matthew's Gospel. One of these is assigned to the late second century, two (one an additional fragment of **2683**) to the late second/early third; these join our earliest witnesses to the text. We are grateful to Professor J. D. Thomas for undertaking this section. Part II continues our publication of fragments of Greek Comedy: most notable here is Professor Handley's final and complete version of the substantial papyrus of Menander's *Dis Exapaton*, which is unique in allowing us to compare Menander's original and Plautus' adaptation. Part III publishes fragments of known Hellenistic poets, including a magnificent Aratus (**4423**): **4414**, **4417** and **4421** contribute usefully to the text and textual history of Apollonius Rhodius, **4430-2** to the history of the Corpus Bucolicorum and its commentators.

Most of the Apollonius Rhodius fragments and the bulk of the documents in Part IV were first edited by Dr. U. Wartenberg in her 1990 Oxford D.Phil. dissertation. The literary texts were revised for publication by Parsons, the documents by Rea and Coles. Among the documents **4435** contains legal pronouncements on the rights of minors and is an additional piece of **1020**. Dr. Rea has contributed the edition of **4436**, a challenging account which was reused later for the application **4438** on its other side. Finally, Dr. Coles contributes **4441**, a long fourth century account of building repairs and materials, of interest for the topography of Oxyrhynchus, which has links with pieces published by Grenfell and Hunt in the first volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and now in the British Library and in Trinity College, Dublin.

The indexes were compiled by Coles and Gonis.

We take the opportunity to acknowledge particular debts. The Leverhulme Foundation awarded Professor Thomas an Emeritus Fellowship, which enabled him to work on the biblical texts; various German foundations funded a year in Oxford for the visiting students (K. Bühler, R. Dilcher, A. Kolb, M. Richter, C. Selzer) whose work appears below. In **4401-6** we had the valuable assistance of the Rev. Dr. David Parker. In **4413**, **4418** and **4421** much preliminary work had been done by Professor Peter Kingston and Dr. W. E. H. Cockle; we are most grateful to them for allowing us to consult their transcripts.

As usual we are deeply indebted to the staff of The Charlesworth Group for solving with great skill and patience the many problems in the printing of our intractable material.

October, 1997

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
R. A. COLES
General Editors

CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
TABLE OF PAPYRI	ix
LIST OF PLATES	xi
NUMBERS AND PLATES	xi
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS	xii

TEXTS

I. NEW TESTAMENT (4401-4406)	i
II. COMEDY (4407-4412)	14
III. HELLENISTIC POETS (4413-4432)	79
IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS (4433-4441)	138

INDEXES

I. COMEDY	194
II. HELLENISTIC POETS	197
III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS	198
IV. CONSULS	198
V. MONTHS AND DAYS	199
(a) MONTHS	199
(b) DAYS	199
VI. DATES	199
VII. PERSONAL NAMES	199
VIII. GEOGRAPHICAL	202
(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.	202
(b) VILLAGES, ETC.	202
(c) MISCELLANEOUS	202
IX. RELIGION	202
X. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES	202
XI. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS	203
XII. MEASURES	203
(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES	203
(b) MONEY	203
XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS	203
XIV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS	209

TABLE OF PAPYRI

I. NEW TESTAMENT

4401	Matthew iii 10-12, 16-iv 3	JDT	Third century	2
4402	Matthew iv 11-12, 22-23	JDT	Third/early fourth century	4
4403	Matthew xiii 55-56, xiv 3-5	JDT	Late second/early third century	5
4404	Matthew xxi 34-37, 43 and 45(?)	JDT	Late second century	7
4405	Matthew xxiii 30-34, 35-39	JDT	Late second/early third century	9
4406	Matthew xxvii 62-64, xxviii 2-5	JDT	Fifth/sixth century	12

II. COMEDY

4407	Menander, <i>Dis Exapaton</i>	EWH	Later third century	14
4408	Menander, <i>Misoumenos</i> 152-9	NG	Second/third century	42
4409	New Comedy (?Menander)	EWH	Third century	50
4410	Comedy?	MWH	Second century	59
4411	Old Comedy	MWH	Second century	62
4412	New Comedy	PGMcCB/PJP	Third century	76

III. HELLENISTIC POETS

4413	Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i>	NG	Third century	79
	i 85-105			
4414	i 133-204, 938-9, 974-1009	UW	Second/third century	81
4415	i 198-208, 240-258	UW	Second/third century	90
4416	i 285-6, 302-6, 309-21, 328-32	UW	Second century	92
4417	i 543-58	UW	Second/third century	94
4418	i 623-33	NG	Third century	95
4419	i 740-50	UW	Second/third century	96
4420	i 754-58	UW	Second century	97
4421	i 835-43, 866-74	NG	Fifth century	98
4422	i 972-81, 1089-94	UW	Second/third century	100
4423	Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i>			
	42-68, 79-83, 103-37	GBD'A	Second/third century	102
4424	324-36	MR/PJP	Second/third century	108
4425	516-25	RL	Late first/early second century	109

4426	Commentary on Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i> 452-5	RD/PJP	Second/third century	111
4427	Callimachus, <i>Aetia</i> III fr. 75.11-15	MR/PJP	First/second century	114
4428	Lycophron, <i>Alexandra</i> 151-66, 182-97	NG	Early third century	116
4429	588-91, 595-603	KB/PJP	Late first/early second century	118
4430	Theocritus, <i>Idylls</i> vii 84-7, 127-30 and iii 8-14, 34-7, 39-44	NG	Second century	120
4431	[Theocritus], <i>Idyll</i> xxv 87-92, 128-31, 141-8, 155-8, 172-5, 197-8 and [Moschus], <i>Megara</i> 98-115	NG	Second century	123
4432	Commentary on Theocritus iv 55-7, 62-3	MM	Second century	127

IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

4433	Acknowledgment of receipt of bequest	UW	22 September 130?	138
4434	Receipt for military clothing	UW	15 August 154?	140
4435	Rulings on the legal rights of minors	UW	Early third century	143
4436	Private account of money and wine	JRR	c. 207/8 or 175/6?	151
4437	Rescript of Severus: application to a strategus	UW	c. 229-236/7	156
4438	Application for registration of a house	UW	28 September- 27 October 252(?)	159
4439	Loan of barley	UW	258/9	165
4440	List of fishermen	UW	First century	168
4441	Reports to the logistes	RAC	315, January- February 316	171

PGMcCB = P.G.McC.Brown
KB = K.Bühler
RAC = R.A.Coles
GBD'A = G.B.D'Alessio
RD = R.Dilcher

NG = N.Gonis
EWH = E.W.Handley
MWH = M.W.Haslam
RL = R.Luiselli
MM = M.Maehler

PJP = P.J.Parsons
JRR = J.R.Rea
MR = M.Richter
JDT = J.D.Thomas
UW = U.Wartenberg

LIST OF PLATES

I. 4401-6	XI. 4414 fr. 18, 4424 , 4427
II. 4401-6	XII. 4423 fr. 1-10
III. 4407	XIII. 4423 fr. 11-15
IV. 4408-9	XIV. 4432 , 4434
V. 4410	XV. 4435
VI. 4411 fr. 1-15	XVI. 4436
VII. 4411 fr. 16-50	XVII. 4440
VIII. 4411 fr. 51-95	XVIII. 4441 col. v
IX. 4412 , 4426	XIX. 4441 col. x
X. 4414 fr. 1-17	

NUMBERS AND PLATES

4401	I, II	4414 fr. 1-17	X
4402	I, II	4414 fr. 18	XI
4403	I, II	4423 fr. 1-10	XII
4404	I, II	4423 fr. 11-15	XIII
4405	I, II	4424	XI
4406	I, II	4426	IX
4407	III	4427	XI
4408	IV	4432	XIV
4409	IV	4434	XIV
4410	V	4435	XV
4411 fr. 1-15	VI	4436	XVI
4411 fr. 16-50	VII	4440	XVII
4411 fr. 51-95	VIII	4441 col. v	XVIII
4412	IX	4441 col. x	XIX

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$\alpha\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[. . .]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ($\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$) represents the symbol τ , $\epsilon\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\rho\varsigma$
[[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\cdot}{\alpha\beta\gamma}$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle\alpha\beta\gamma\rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
{ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

I. NEW TESTAMENT

4401–4406. NEW TESTAMENT: MATTHEW

These six texts are all fragments of papyrus codices of the Gospel according to St Matthew. Although they are all small, and in some cases minute, they help to build up a picture of our knowledge of the early history of this Gospel, especially as no less than five of them are certainly not later than the first half of the fourth century. Hitherto 12 papyrus and 5 parchment codices of Matthew have commonly been assigned to the period up to 400; they are conveniently indicated in bold type in the lists in S. R. Llewelyn, *New documents illustrating early Christianity* VII (1994), 257–8. The 12 papyri are discussed by Barbara Aland in *The Four Gospels 1992* (= *Festschrift Frans Neirynck*), edd. F. Van Segbroeck *et al.*, I, 325–36. Five of these 12 papyri are, in my opinion, not later than the mid third century: $\mathfrak{P}1$ (= I 2), $\mathfrak{P}45$, $\mathfrak{P}53$, $\mathfrak{P}64+67$ (+ $\mathfrak{P}4?$) and $\mathfrak{P}77$ (= XXXIV 2683). $\mathfrak{P}64+67$ has indeed been alleged to be as early as the middle or late first century, see C. P. Thiede, *ZPE* 105 (1995) 13–20; this view, however, is certainly to be rejected; cf., e.g., K. Wachtel, *ZPE* 107 (1995) 73–80, P. M. Head, *Tyndale Bulletin* 46.2 (1995) 251–85 and T. C. Skeat, *New Test. Stud.* 43 (1997) 1–34. Of the papyri published here I consider that **4403**, **4404** and **4405** (an additional fragment of $\mathfrak{P}77$) belong with the very early papyri of Matthew mentioned above.

To the papyri and parchments of Matthew listed in K. Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste*² (1994), should be added P. Col. inv. 571 = no. 1 in T. M. Teeter, *Ten Christian Papyri* (Diss. Columbia, 1989), a leaf from a parchment codex assigned to the 5th century, containing part of Matthew vi. A small additional fragment of the Matthew leaf of $\mathfrak{P}45$ has been published by T. C. Skeat and B. C. McGing in *Hermathena* 150 (1991) 21. Cf. also the fifth–sixth century ostrakon containing Matthew i. 19–20 published by P. J. Sijpesteijn in *ZPE* 55 (1984) 145, and ‘Frammenti inediti del Vangelo secondo Matteo’, published by A. Passoni Dell’Acqua in *Aegyptus* 60 (1980) 96–119 (7th/8th century; three parchment, one wood).

For a comprehensive discussion of the recent history of New Testament textual criticism see J. Neville Birdsall, *ANRW* II 26,1 (1992) 99–197. Specifically on the papyri see the articles by E. J. Epp in M. P. Horgan, P. J. Kobelski (edd.), *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer* (1989), 261–288, and in B. D. Ehrman, M. W. Holmes (edd.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. A Volume in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger* (Studies and Documents 46; 1995), 3–21.

References to Turner in the introductions to the texts are to E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977). All the texts have been collated against Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed. (1993), with occasional reference also to S. C. E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum. Euangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford; 1940), and, for the Old Latin, to A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament*

in *allateinischer Überlieferung* I (1972 ed. revised by K. Aland). I have benefited greatly for help and advice on the collating from the Rev. Dr David Parker. Symbols used for citing manuscripts follow the practice of Nestle-Aland²⁷.

4401. MATTHEW III 10-12; III 16-IV 3

27 3B.41/C(1-3)b

4.7 × 8.6 cm

Third century

The papyrus is broken away on all four sides; the restorations at the left and right are therefore arbitrary. The lines on both sides contain between 18 and 22 letters, and the gap between ↓ and →, assuming a standard text, amounts to c. 400 letters, i.e. approximately 19 lines (in addition to the two lines partially preserved). This suggests that there were 32 or 33 lines per page, which would give a writing area of about 9 × 22 cm; together with margins, this would suit a codex of Turner's Group 8.

The hand is plain and competent, rather than elegant, with a complete absence of serifs. Some letters somewhat resemble the cursive forms, but there are no ligatures: each letter is made independently and with a clear space between it and the letters before and after. The writer did not attempt to achieve strict bilinearity. The bow of alpha is a sharply angled triangle; beta can rest on a broad base; the middle stroke of epsilon is prolonged; mu has a deep bow, whereas the bow in omega is flattened. There are tremata over initial upsilon, and the usual abbreviations for the *nomina sacra* πνεῦμα and υἱός (no doubt also for Ἰησοῦς and θεός, see lines 20 and 27); but οὐρανός is not abbreviated. No other lectional signs are preserved. The script is very similar to that of P. IFAO inv. 89 (Plates in *ZPE* 6 (1970) Tafel I (a), and 8 (1971) Tafel III) + P. Köln VII 282 (Plate Ia), a papyrus of Menander assigned to the third century. It is most probable that **4401** is also to be assigned to the third century.

None of these verses has previously appeared in a Greek papyrus, but verses iii 10-12 have previously appeared on papyrus in Coptic (P36). Since verses iii 9 and 15 are preserved in P367, it is worth stressing that the two papyrus fragments are in very different hands. **4401** has several readings which are textually interesting.

↓ δειδρ]ογ [μη ποιουν iii 10
 [καρπον κ]αλον ε[κκοπτεται
 [c. 5]ος πυρ βα[λλεται
 [εγ]ω μ[εν υ]μας β[απτιζω εν 11
 5 [υ]δατι ε[ις] μετα[νοιαν ο
 [δ]ε ερχο[μ]ενο[ς] ιχυροτε
 [ρ]ος μου ε[στιν] ο[υ] ουκ ειμι
 [ι]κανος τα υ[πο]δηματα βασι
 [τ]α[ς] αι αυτος υ[μας] βαπτισει

10 [ε]ν π̄νῑ αγιω̄ καῑ [ι] πυρῑ οῡ το 12
 [π]τυον̄ εν̄ τη̄ χ[ειρι] αυτοῡ
 [κ]αῑ διακαθᾱρ[ι]ε̄ [ι] την̄ αλω̄
 [να] αυτοῡ κ[αι]

 →] . . [c. 12 16
 15 [c. 5] ως̄ περιε̄τ[εραν] ερχο̄ 17
 [μενον̄ ε]π̄ αυτο̄ [ν] καῑ ιδοῡ
 [φωνη] εκ̄ τω̄ [ν] ο[υ]ρ[α] [ν]ων̄ [λε
 [γουςα] ο[υ]τ[ο]ς̄ ε[στι]ν̄ ο̄ ῡτ̄ μ[ου]
 [ο] αγαπη̄]τος̄ εν̄ ω̄ η̄υδοκ[η]σα
 20 [τοτε] ο̄ τ̄ε̄ αν̄ηχθ[η] εις̄ την̄ [ερη] iv 1
 [μον] υπο̄ το̄ ῡ π̄ν[ε]̄ πειρᾱσθ[η]
 [ναι] υπο̄ το̄ ῡ διαβολοῡ κ[αι] 2
 [νη]στειν̄]ᾱς̄ μ̄ η̄μερας̄ [και
 [μ̄] νυκτ[ας] ῡστερον̄ επ̄ε[ι]να
 25 [σειν] καῑ π[ροσε]λθων̄ ο̄ πει[ρα] 3
 [ζων] ειπε̄ [ν] αυτω̄ εῑ ῡτ̄ [ει] τοῡ
 [θ]ῡ ειπε̄ [να] οῑ λιθοῑ ουτ[οι]

1-2 The traces of the feet of two letters surviving in line 1 are very slight and the reading of the first two letters preserved in line 2 is difficult. The only variant quoted is the omission of *καλον*. This is poorly attested: 1506 sy^a Irenaeus (once); and in any case *καρπον* is not a possible reading in line 2. As the traces in line 1 are compatible with *ον* and the spacing is suitable, there is no good reason to doubt that the papyrus had the expected reading.

3 All MSS read *εκκοπτεται και εις πυρ βαλλεται*, which is impossible here: the letter before *πυρ* is indeed almost certainly a sigma, but the broken half of the letter before this is rounded, not straight as would be usual for iota. It might be part of an omega, but is more probably the right-hand side of omicron. It would be very easy to read *προς*, and the spacing suits *και προς* (for MSS *και εις*); but the variant would be unattested. The Lukan parallel (iii 9) is identical to the Matthew.

4 [εγ]ω μ[εν]: so most MSS. **N** and 892 add *γαρ*, and some minuscules add *ουν*.

υ]μας: a single dot from the trema over upsilon is clearly visible.

υ]μας β[απτιζω]: so **N** B W and a few minuscules, supported by some Latin versions (ff¹ 1 vg); most MSS read *βαπτίζω υμας*.

6 [δ]ε ερχο[μ]ενο[ς]: the papyrus omitted *οπισω μου* before *ερχομενος*, which is included in almost all MSS. The omission is attested in one MS of the Vulgate, two Old Latin MSS (a d), some Sahidic Coptic MSS, Cyprian (one MS) and Hilarius; the Palestinian Syriac (CPM) omits *ερχομενος* as well. This is the first proof of the omission of *οπισω μου* in a Greek MS, but in view of its omission in d, it may well have been omitted also in D (the Greek column is lost).

8–9 βατ[α]α: this is the reading of all the MSS but the trace at the left is not easy to reconcile with alpha. It suits upsilon better, and it is perhaps just worth remarking that the parallel passage in Luke iii 16 has λυαι, and that in Mark i 7 has κυφας λυαι; of the two the second would better suit the space available, reading ὑπο[δηματα κυφας | λ]υ[α].

10 κα[ι] πυρ: omitted by E S V, sy^h, Origen (one MS) and some minuscules.

14–15 There are a number of variants here and the traces in line 14 are so slight that we cannot be sure of the reading of the papyrus. Nestle-Aland²⁷ prints εἶδεν [το] πνευμα [του] θεου καταβαινον ωσει περιστεραν. **N** and B, with the Bohairic and Irenaeus, read πνευμα θεου; other majuscules and the majority of minuscules read το πνευμα του θεου. Thereafter nearly all MSS have καταβαινον ωσει περιστεραν; D reads καταβαινοντα εκ του ουρανου ως περιστεραν. It is certain that **4401** had ως and not ωσει (attested only in D and 983); whether it also followed D 372 sy^h, several Latin MSS and Hilarius in adding εκ του ουρανου (or equivalent) is uncertain. The foot of the first letter surviving in line 14 could well be part of omicron, and a possible reading would be εἶδεν τ]ο π[να του θυ κατα]βαινον] ως.

15–16 ερχομενον: **N*** B; similarly most Latin MSS and Ir^{lat}. και ερχομενον: **N**² C D L W 0233 f¹⁻¹³ 33 \mathfrak{M} f l vg^{cl} sy; Ir. The papyrus may have included και, but it would make the line rather long.

17 εκ] τω[ν] ο[υ]ρα[ν]ω: **4401** agrees with most MSS; it did not follow W and one lectionary (184) in reading του ουρανου (several Syriac MSS also have the singular, as do b and h of the Old Latin MSS).

17–18 λεγουσα: there is not room for προς αυτον after this which is added by D and supported by some versions (a b g¹ h sy^{s-c?}).

18 ο]υτ[ο]ς ε]στ[ιν]: the fibres are almost completely stripped, but the reading can just be made to suit the traces. This is the reading of most MSS. D, supported by a sy^{s-c} and Irenaeus, has ου ει.

19 ηυδοκ[η]σα: so **N*** C L P W Σ and a few minuscules, lectionaries and quotations in the fathers. Most MSS read ευδοκησα.

20 Spacing guarantees that the papyrus did not omit ο τε with 983 1689 and one Georgian MS; it is possible that it omitted ο with B Δ 700 and a few other MSS.

20–22 εις την [ερημον υπο το]ν π[ν]ε[υ]μα: the majority reading: B C D L W 0233 f¹⁻¹³ 33^{vid} \mathfrak{M} latt sy^h sa. In **N** K 892. 1424 *pc* sy^{s-c-p} the order is υπο του πνευμα εις την ερημον.

υπο το]ν π[ν]ε[υ]μα πειρασθη[ναι υπο το]ν διαβολου: 713 reads πειρασθη[ναι υπο του πνευμα] only.

23–24 μ̄ ημερας [και μ̄ νυκτα]ς: on the use of figures for numerals in NT texts see E. G. Turner, *GMAW*², 15, C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief* (1979), 18–19.

The order τεσσαρακοντα ημερας is found in some Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Georgian versions, but is not attested in any Greek MS, all of which read ημερας τεσσαρακοντα (or τεσσαρακοντα). On the other hand **N** D and 892 agree with **4401** in reading τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας (similarly some Latin MSS), against νυκτας τεσσαρακοντα of B C L W 0233 f¹⁻¹³ 33 \mathfrak{M} sy^h and most other MSS. sy^s, f¹ and a few other minuscules omit the words and the και preceding.

25–26 π]ροσελθων ο πει[ραζων ειπε]ν αυτω: so **N** B W f¹⁻¹³ 33. 700. 892^{vid} al aur ff¹ l vg sy^p mae bo. προσελθων αυτω ο πειραζων ειπεν: C L 0233 \mathfrak{M} f (k) sy^h, the majority reading. D reads προσηλθεν αυτω ο πειραζων και ειπεν αυτω; similarly a b c g¹ h sy^{s-c} and perhaps the Sahidic.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4402. MATTHEW IV 11–12; 22–23

81 2B.85/58(c)

5 × 3.3 cm

Third/early fourth century

A tiny piece from the bottom corner of a page is all that survives. Assuming 27–28 letters per line and a normal text, some 33 lines will have been lost between the front and the back, giving a page of c. 35 lines. There is an appreciable margin of 1.5 cm at the foot. This suggests that the original leaf may have measured approximately 14 × 27 cm, which suits Turner's Group 8.

The hand is quite distinctive: alpha is sharply angled, the y-shaped upsilon descends

well below the line and curves back at the foot (there is similar curve on iota, kappa and rho), while omicron is small. There is a serif at the top left of sigma and the crossbar of epsilon is high; both letters are straightbacked. In some respects it is reminiscent of the so-called 'severe style', but the rounded omega does not suit this style (unfortunately no example of mu survives). It is not at all easy to date, but seems almost certainly to belong between the middle of the third century and the early years of the fourth. There is some similarity with P. Herm. 4 and 5 (=Cavallo and Maehler, *GBEP* Plate 2a, and *GMAW*² Plate 70, respectively) and with XXXI **2601** (Plate V), all datable to the first quarter of the 4th century; but the fact that it is upright rather than right-sloping may possibly point to an earlier date. Note the use of medial point in line 3 at a break in sense.

Matthew iv 23 occurs in VIII **1077**, an amulet; cf. also BGU III 954. 11–12 and VIII **1151** 25–7.

→

α]φ[ησιν αυτον iv 11
[ο διαβολος και ιδου] αγγελοι προς
[ηλθον και διηκουουν] αυτω· ακουσας 12

↓

τω και περι[ηγεν c. 14 letters? 22–23
5 διδασκων εν [

¹ Only the bottom tip of a letter survives, but this would fit well for phi and the spacing is suitable.
⁴ τω: restore αυ]τω. There may have been a medial point after it (cf. line 3), but it is no longer visible. The papyrus is broken away at the left, but there is a blank before the first delta of διδασκων in the next line which suggests that nothing is lost before τω.

There are several variants and it is impossible to be sure what the papyrus read here, especially as there is no way of knowing whether the lines were of approximately the same length on both sides. Any of the following could have been the reading of **4402**:

περιηγεν ο τε εν ολη τη γαλιλαια: C* sy^{s-p,h} bo

περιηγεν ο τε εν τη γαλιλαια: **N***

περιηγεν ο τε ολην την γαλιλαιαν: **N**¹ D f¹ 33. 892. 1424. 1844. 12211 *pc* lat; Eus; also **1077** (γαλιλαιαν)

περιηγεν εν ολη τη γαλιλαια ο τε: C³

περιηγεν ολην την γαλιλαιαν ο τε: W and the majority of minuscules

περιηγεν εν ολη τη γαλιλαια: B, supported by k sy^c sa mae.

⁵ There is a horizontal bar to the top left of epsilon, but its purpose is obscure. After διδασκων **N*** adds αυτους. **1077** omits εν and the words following.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4403. MATTHEW XIII 55–56; XIV 3–5

100/21(c)

5.8 × 4 cm

Late second/early third century

A small piece from the top corner of a leaf, with generous margins of over 1 cm preserved at the top and more than 1.5 cm at each side. If we reckon approximately

26 letters per line, some 14–15 lines will have been lost between the two sides and the page will have contained 19–20 lines. This would give a page size of approximately 11 × 16 cm.

The hand is quite elegant, with noticeable hooks at the top of most hastas and occasional serifs elsewhere. It looks back to hands such as that of XIII 1622, of the first half of the second century (see W. Schubart, *Griech. Paläographie*, Abb. 80), but is no doubt slightly later, though not later than the early third. It is upright with noticeably straightbacked epsilons and sigmas; the mid-stroke of epsilon is high and prolonged. The bow of alpha is rounded and the upper branch of kappa flattened. Upsilon appears in more than one form: note especially its occurrence as a shallow bowl on top of a straight hasta (contrast *αυτου* in line 1 with the same word in lines 2 and 8), and with the second stroke widely spread out (as in some documentary hands), see especially line 4. *εθoc* letters are oval and there is no great effort to keep the writing bilinear.

As a whole the hand is very similar to that of 4405 = 2683, so much so that the possibility must be envisaged that both are from the same codex. Letter forms are markedly similar, both texts using hooks and serifs at the same places. In 4405 = 2683 upsilon as a bowl on top of a hasta also occurs, but not the other form mentioned above (with the second stroke spread out); in addition in 4403 the letters appear very slightly smaller. Both punctuate by use of medial point and have a correction in a second hand (too little remains to say whether it could be the same hand in both). Although there are no itacisms in 4403, whereas there are several in 4405 = 2683, there is nowhere in 4403 where itacisms might have been expected. In addition the format of the page is closely similar in both texts. On the whole, it seems to me safest to treat the papyri as from two different codices, without excluding the possibility that they may be from the same codex. There is no doubt that both were written at much the same time.

These verses of Matthew have not hitherto occurred on papyrus.

→] μητηρ αυτου λεγεται xiii 55
 [μαριαμ και ο]ι αδελφοι αυτου ιακω
 [βoc και ιωc]ηc· και ciμων· και iου
 [δac και αι αδ]ελφαι αυτου· ουχι πασαι 56
], ι, . .
 5 [c. 11] ποθ[ε]γ ουγ τουτω ταυ
 [τα]
 ↓ την γυναικα φιλιππου του αδελ xiv 3
 φου αυτου· ελ[ε]γεν [γαρ ο ιωαννης 4
 ουκ εξεστιν σοι εχ[ειν αυ

10 την και θελων αυ[τον αποκτειναι 5
 εφοβηθη τον οχλο[ν

2–3 *ιακω[βoc]*: the surface is damaged and it is impossible to say whether or not there was a trema over the iota (cf. line 3).

3 *ιωc]ηc*: the papyrus supports the reading of K L W Δ 0106 *f*¹³ 565. 1241 *pm* k q^c sa bo^{ms}. A few minuscules, sy^h and some Coptic (Bohairic) MSS read *ιωcη*. *Ⲛ*^{vid} D Γ and several minuscules read *ιωαννης*, supported by some MSS of the Vulgate and of Origen. *Ⲛ*² B C N Θ *f*¹ 33. 700^c 892 and a few other minuscules read *ιωcηφ*; similarly most Latin MSS, sy^{s.c.lmmg} mae bo^{pt}, and some MSS of Origen.

5 What has been inserted over the line is unclear, but is no doubt a correction and is very probably by a second hand. It may be just possible to read] *ειcμ*, but probably a better reading is] *ειcν* followed by a medial point (*η]μιν* cannot be read); both readings imply that *ειcν* was omitted and then later inserted. This creates a problem: nearly all MSS read, after *πασαι, προς ημαc ειcν ποθεν*; the only variants attested are *ειcν προς ημαc ποθεν* from 892, and *παρ ημιν ειcν ποθεν* in a few majuscules (N O Δ Σ 0119) and two minuscules (473 1474). This suggests that all we need to restore at the start of this line is *προς ημαc*, which is some two to three letters too short. Dr Parker notes that Mark vi 3 has *και ουκ ειcν αι αδελφαι αυτου ωδε προς ημαc* at this point; he wonders whether the copyist may have written *ωδε προς ημαc* at the start of line 5, omitting *ειcν* which was then added over the line.

ουν is omitted by M and by some versions.

6 The traces on the frayed remains of the papyrus at the right are too indistinct to be assigned to specific letters.

7 D and several Latin MSS omit *φιλιππου*.

8 ο *ιωαννης*: the variants are the following:

ιωαννης αυτω: *Ⲛ*²

αυτω ιωαννης: D

ο *ιωαννης*: 565 *pc*

ιωαννης: *Ⲛ*^{*}

αυτω ο ιωαννης: C L W Θ 0106 *f*^{1.13} 33 *ℳ*—the majority reading

ο *ιωαννης* (*ιωανης* B) *αυτω*: B Z

Spacing guarantees that 4403 omitted *αυτω*, but it is unclear whether it also omitted ο.

9 There is a problem in this line as the supplement is too short. Two Old Latin MSS (*f ff*¹) read *uxorem fratris sui* for *αυτην*, and k and sy^c add the equivalent of *γυναικα αφter αυτην*; but no suitable variants are attested.

11 *εφοβηθη*: so nearly all MSS; *εφοβειτο*: 954. 1424 and a few versions.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4404. MATTHEW XXI 34–37; 43 AND 45 (?)

27 3B.38/N(1)a

7 × 5.2 cm

Late second century

Although on one side (↓) only indecisive traces survive, enough is preserved to make it certain that, as we should expect, we have part of a leaf from a codex. The readings suggested for ↓ are exceedingly tentative and this must be borne in mind when this papyrus is used for purposes of textual criticism. These verses have not previously appeared on papyrus.

The hand is clearly 'early', i.e. before c. 250. It is very carefully written, with extensive use of serifs. It could well be considered an example of the 'decorated' style

or *Zierstil*, on which see *GMAW*², p. 21, where it is stressed that this so-called style, often found in the Ptolemaic period, is attested as late as texts from the first few years of the third century AD (e.g. *GMAW*², Plate 87). The bow of alpha is round with an occasional loop at the top; εθoc letters are broad; omega and mu are deeply curved; bilinearity is strictly observed. There are three instances of the use of a rough breathing (but it is not used over οi in line 3). I should assign **4404** with some confidence to the second half of the second century, while not wishing to exclude altogether a slightly earlier or a slightly later date. It must certainly rank with the papyri mentioned in the general introduction above as one of the earliest surviving texts of Matthew.

The hand has a good deal of similarity with that used for L **3523**, a codex of John's Gospel assigned without discussion to the second century (P₉₀). The letter forms are very close, but in **3523** beta rests on a broad base (which is not the case in **4404**), and sigmas in **4404** are fully rounded, whereas those in **3523** have a more flattened top stroke. **4404** has a somewhat more elegant appearance overall and is most probably not part of the same MS as **3523**.

The lines are complete at the right. There is a blank above the top line which makes it probable that the top of the page survives. If the passage on side ↓ has been correctly identified, and if we assume c. 24 letters per line and a normal text, the original columns will have contained some 31 lines. When allowance has been made for margins, this suggests a page of approximately 14 × 25 cm, which fits well into Turner's Group 8.

→	] δ[ο]υλου[ε] αυτου προς	xxi 34
	[τους γεωργους] λαβειν τους καρ	
	[πους αυτου και] λαβοντες οι γεωρ	35
	[γοι τους δου]λους αυτ[ου] ον μεν	
5	[εδειραν] ον δε απεκτειναν ον	
	[δε ελιθοβ]ολησαν παλιν απε	36
	[στειλεν α]λλους δουλους πλειο	
	[νας των πρωτων και] εποιησαν	
	[αυτοις ωσαυτως υστερον δε] απε	37
	
↓	Scanty traces of 4 lines	
14	] δ[ο]θησ[ε]τ[α]ι	43
	[εθνει ποιουν]τι τ[ο]υς καρ[που]ς	
16	[αυτης και ακου]σα[ν]τες ο[ι]	45
	
	Scanty traces of 1 line	
	

3 και] λαβοντες: so most MSS; λαβοντες δε 1555 and the Sahidic.

6 The papyrus reads παλιν without addition, as do nearly all MSS. **8**^{*}, supported by sy^p, reads και παλιν; D reads παλιν ουν; 579 reads παλιν δε (cf. uero in d).

8 Two Latin MSS (a e) omit the equivalent of των πρωτων.

10 ff. Although the fibres are not stripped, the ink on this side (↓) has almost entirely disappeared. In lines 10–13 and 17 only meagre traces remain, which cannot be assigned to any letter. In the other lines the only letter which is beyond all doubt is the epsilon in line 16, but kappa preceded by sigma or epsilon is almost certain in line 15. No text from the preceding verses in Matthew fits well with the slight traces remaining. But in the following verses there does seem to be one place which could fit without too much difficulty, namely xxi 43 and 45. This involves the assumption that the papyrus omitted verse 44, since the traces before and after the epsilon in line 16 do not permit the reading of the start of verse 44: και ο πεσων επι κτλ. The verse is omitted in D 33, several Latin MSS, sy^s, Eus^{sy}; and it seems almost certain that Origen used a manuscript which omitted the verse (*teste* Tischendorf). It is included by **8** B C L W Z (Θ) 0102, together with most other MSS and versions. The reading throughout, however, is very tentative indeed, thus making it hazardous to use this papyrus as evidence in support of the omission of the verse.

16 και ακου]σα[ν]τες ο[ι]: this, the majority reading (B C D W Θ 0102 f^{1.13} M^{lat} sy^{ph} mac), fits the spacing and the traces of the last letter better than ακουσαντες δε οι, the reading supported by **8** L Z 33. 892 *pc* aur sy^{ac} sa bo.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4405. MATTHEW xxiii 30–34; 35–39

104/152(a)

8 × 8.2 cm

Late second/early third century

The text published below includes a new fragment of the page of the codex already published as XXXIV **2683** = P₇₇. Only the complete text of the two fragments is given here. For a general description of the papyrus and full notes on the fragment published earlier the reader is referred to **2683**. The new fragment covers all or part of lines 9–15 and 25–32 of the text printed below. In the introduction to **2683** the papyrus was assigned to the later second century, which may very well be correct; however, a date in the early part of the third has also been suggested (see K. Aland, *Repertorium*, 313). Certainly there can be no doubt about the accuracy of the statement made in the introduction to **2683** that the papyrus 'belongs among the oldest New Testament texts'.

The size of the column in **2683** was estimated at c. 7 × 11 cm. When allowance is made for the addition of margins, this suggests a codex of c. 10 × 15 cm. The reconstructed layout is therefore close to that suggested for **4403**. On the possibility that **4403** is from the same codex as **4405** = **2683** see the introduction to **4403**. A codex of this size does not fit too well into any of Turner's groups; closest are Groups 10 and 11.

↓	. . . μ . [.] . [.]	c. 16	πα	xxiii 30
	τερων ημων [ουκ αν ημεθα κοινω			
	νοι αυτων εν τ[ω αιματι των προφη			
	των ωστε μαρ[τυρειτε εαυτοις οτι			31

5 υιοι εστε των φ[ονευσαντων τους
 προφητας· και υ[μεις πληρωσατε 32
 το μετρον των [πατερων υμων
 οφεις γεννημ[ατα εχιδνων πως 33
 φυγητε απο τη[ς] κρισε[ως της γεεν
 10 νης· δια τουτ[ο] ιδου εγω απος[τελλω 34
 πρ[ος υμας προ]φητας και σοφ[ους
 και [γραμματει]ς εξ αυτων αποκ[τε
 ν[ειτε και σταυρ]ωσετε κα[ι] ε[ξ] αυ[των
 [μαστιγωσετε εν τ]αις [c]υ[ναγ]ωγα[ις
 15]...[...].

 →]...[...].[...].[...].[...]
 βαρα]χιου· ον εφονευ 35
 [σατε μεταξυ του] ναου και του θυσι
 [αστηριου αμη]ν λεγω υμειν ηξει 36
 [ταυτα παντα ε]πι την γεεναν ταυ
 [την vacat] vacat
 20 [ιερουσαλημ ιερους]αλημ· η αποκτιν 37
 [νουσα τους προ]φητας και λιθοβο
 [λουσα τους απεστ]αλμενους προς α[υ
 25 [τη]ν [πο]σακι[ς η]θεληκα επεικυνα 38
 [ξ]αι τα τεκνα σο[υ ο]ν τροπον ορνιξ
 [ε]πικυναγει τα ν[ο]ς[ια αυ]της υπο
 και [39
 τας πτερυγας ου[κ ηθελησατ]ε ιδο[υ
 αφειεται υμιν ο [c. 8] λε
 30 [γω γ]αρ υ[μιν] ου μη [με ιδητε απ
 [αρτι ε]ως [αν ει]πητε[ε] [ευλογημενος
 [ο ερχομενος εν ον]ο[ματι

4 ωστε: above the first upstroke of ω, a short vertical with a short horizontal projecting to the left ... there is too much ink for a simple stop' (*ed.pr.*). This is correct, but the horizontal could have extended to

the right where there is now a hole in the papyrus; therefore, the simplest solution is to suppose that we have the remains of a rough breathing (cf. lines 17 and 29).

10 εγω: in the *ed.pr.* it was considered more probable that the papyrus omitted εγω, but the new fragment proves that it included it. This is the reading of most MSS; εγω is omitted in D, a few minuscules, Vulgate (4 MSS), Georgian, Irenaeus *int.*, Lucifer, Origen once.

απος[τελλω: so most MSS; the papyrus could have read αποστελω with D, a few minuscules, one lectionary (183) and Origen; similarly Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic).

11 πρ[ος υμας: omitted in D and one lectionary (184).

11-12 και σοφ[ους] και: και¹ omitted by 892; και² omitted by L Φ and one Georgian MS; σοφους και omitted by X.

12-13 The new fragment makes it necessary to change the reading proposed at this point in 2683. There the reading suggested was και [γραμματεις και εξ αυτων] | α[ποκτενειτε, with the comment that the trace at the start of line 13 best suited alpha. This trace, however, is so slight that it does not prevent the reading nu, which is what is required by syllabic word division.

εξ αυτων: this is the reading of **N** B W Δ Θ ο 102 f^{1,13} 33. 565. l 844 al e q vg^s sy^{s-p}; Ir^{int} pt. The majority reading (C D L, etc., most minuscules, supported by most MSS of the Old Latin and the Vulgate, sy^h bo, other versions, Origen and some MSS of Irenaeus) adds και before εξ.

13-14 κα[ι] ε[ξ] αυ[των] μαστιγωσετε εν τ[αις] [c]υ[ναγ]ωγα[ις: omitted by D, one Old Latin MS (a) and Lucifer. Several other Latin MSS omit the equivalent of εξ αυτων.

15 Only the tops of letters survive, none of which can be assigned with confidence to any specific letters.

25 η]θεληκα: the second eta has been corrected, perhaps from ε. This seems unlikely to be a genuine variant for ηθεληκα, the reading of all the MSS. In the introduction to 2683 it is described as 'a simple mistake'.

25-26 *Ed.pr.* read επεικυνα[γαγειν, commenting that this made line 26 a little long. In fact it is now certain that there is insufficient room to read [γαγειν] at the start of line 26. Almost all MSS of Matthew read επικυναγαγειν, but **N*** before correction had επικυναγειν (cf. on επικυναγει below). επεικυνα[γειν] is perhaps possible in 4405, but επεικυνα[ξ]αι is an easier reading. This is the word used in the comparable passage in Luke (xiii 34; cf. *ed.pr.*), and according to Tischendorf quotations in Origen and Eusebius use επικυναξαι in the Matthew passage.

26 ο]ν τροπον: ωσπερ 1473.

ορνιξ: all MSS have ορνιξ at this point, but in the parallel passage in Luke (xiii 34) **N** D W read ορνιξ; cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Grammar*, § 47.4.

26-27 ορνιξ [ε]πικυναγει: this is the order supported by **N** B D (K) L Θ f^{1,13} 33. 700. 892 pc latt; (Cl). The majority reading is επικυναγει ορνιξ: C W ο 102, most minuscules, sy^{h-p} and a few other versions.

27 [ε]πικυναγει: K and one lectionary (183) read επικυναγαγει.

τα ν[ο]ς[ια αυ]της: so **N*** B¹ D W Δ ο 102, a few minuscules and some MSS of Clement; spacing is against τα νοκια αυτης, the reading of **N**² C L Θ and most minuscules. B* and 700, with Georgian¹, Irenaeus *int.*, Clement (some MSS) and Origen (once), omit (ε)αυτης.

υπο: επι 440 and 1689.

28 πτερυγας: not πτερυγας αυτης with X Δ, a few minuscules, many versions and Clement.

και has been inserted over the line in a second hand.

29 υμιν: omitted by several minuscules, sy^s, Clement and Origen (once).

There is a problem in the rest of this line. Most MSS, versions and quotations read ο οικος υμων ερημος. ερημος is omitted in B L ff² sy^s sa bo^{pl}. Spacing in 4405 suits ο [οικος υμων]ν and is not sufficient for ο [οικος υμων ερημο]ς. However, as remarked in the *ed.pr.*, the trace before λε[ι] is much easier to reconcile with sigma than with nu. This suggests that 4405 did indeed include ερημος but that there was some error in the lacuna (e.g. either οικος or υμων may have been omitted).

30 γ]αρ: so most MSS; a few minuscules read δε (similarly autem in a few Old Latin MSS).

υ[μιν]: so most MSS; D Θ and several minuscules add οτι, which some versions support.

Spacing supports the inclusion of με, which is omitted in X 565. 655 and one Bohairic MS.

30-31 Spacing guarantees that the papyrus included απ αρτι; two Old Latin MSS (e r¹) omit the equivalent.

4406. MATTHEW xxvii 62-64; xxviii 2-5

85/26(d)

3.2 × 5.5 cm

Fifth/sixth century

The papyrus is written in a non-carbon ink which has faded badly. A piece of string is still attached, thus proving that the text was used as an amulet. These verses have not previously appeared on papyrus. All four sides are broken so that the assigning of restorations to particular lines is arbitrary. If we assume c. 26 letters per line and a standard text, there will have been approximately 25 lines to the page. Together with margins, this would suggest a page size of c. 12 × 22 cm, which suits Turner's Group 8.

There are a number of itacisms and a unique reading in line 3. The hand is carefully formed. εθoс letters are broad; the script is strictly bilinear apart from rho and phi. It is similar to G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Plate 105, which he regards as transitional to the full-blown Alexandrian majuscule (see p. 116), and to P96, a Greek-Coptic papyrus of Matthew published by T. Orlandi, *Mitt.öst.Nat.Bibl.* 9 (1974) 49-51 with Plate VII; both these papyri are dated to the sixth century. A date in the sixth century seems appropriate also for 4406, but the fifth century can hardly be ruled out; it does not have the 'heavy' effect to be seen in papyri datable after the sixth century.

→	
	τ]ην παρ[ασκευην	xxvii 62
	[συνηχθησαν ο]ι αρχιερ[εις και οι	
	[φαρισαιοι προς] τον πει[λατον	
	[λεγοντες κ̅ε̅ εμ]νησθημ[εν οτι εκει	63
5	[νος ο πλανος] ειπεν ετι [ζων μετα	
	[τρεις ημερας] εγειρομα[ι κελευσον	64
	[ουν ασφαλισθ]ηναι τον [
	
↓	
	επαν]ω αυτo[ν ην δε η ειδεα	xxviii 2-3
	[αυτου ως αστρ]απη και τ[ο ενδυμα	
10	[αυτου λευκον] ως χειω[ν απο δε	4
	[του φοβου αυτ]ου εσιςθ[ησαν οι τη	
	[ρουντες και] εγενηθη[σαν ως νεκ	
	[ροι αποκριθεις] δε ο α[γγελος ειπεν	5
	[ταις γυναιξω μ]η φο[βεισθε	
	

3 The spelling πειλατον is very common in MSS, but there is no other evidence for the introduction of τον at this point; the reading is certain. For the use of the article with Πιλάτος Bauer-Aland, *Wörterbuch*⁶, s.v., refer to Winer-Schmiedel, § 18, 6d; cf., e.g., Mark xv 43, where the majority text reads προς πιλaton but several majuscules add τον.

4-5 εκεινος ο πλανος: the papyrus provides no evidence for or against this order, which is that found in most MSS; C² E* G Θ, plus several minuscules and lectionaries and supported by some versions, have ο πλανος εκεινος.

5 Spacing is against the inclusion of οτι before μετα, which is added by D, some minuscules and versions, and Origen (once). The papyrus did not read ετι ζων ειπεν οτι μετα with 517; nor did it omit ετι ζων with one MS of sy^p and one MS of the Vulgate.

8 The MSS are divided between ειδεα and ιδεα. N* omitted ην δε η ειδεα αυτου.

10 A few Old Latin MSS omit the equivalent of λευκον, as do several MSS of the Vulgate, sy^s and Augustine.

ως: so N B D K f¹ 892 al; A C L W Θ f¹³ 33 30 read ωσει.

χειω[ν: N^c 69 and one lectionary (47) have η χιων.

12 εγενηθη[σαν: so N B C* D L 33 l 844 (l 2211); εγενοντο is read by A C³ W Θ and most majuscules and minuscules.

ως: the MSS are divided between ως and ωσει. It is impossible to say which stood in the papyrus, especially as ωσει could well have been written ωσι.

J. DAVID THOMAS

II. COMEDY

4407. MENANDER, *Dis Exapaton*

7 1B.1/XIII(c)

37 × 32.5 cm

Later third century

Thirteen fragments have been put together to give parts of three columns of a copy of a comedy written across the vertical fibres on the back of a roll previously used for a species of register. In that document, Sir Eric Turner noticed a date which places it near the middle of the third century AD, namely AD 241/2; consistently with such a date, the handwriting of the play may be assigned to the latter part of the third century, or perhaps to early in the fourth. Though not elegant, it is, when spared by damage, clear, practical and professional, a member of a group of Oxyrhynchus papyri of this period with copies of plays or other literary texts on the back of documentary rolls, which may be of substantial size: two recently published examples are LIX 3967, Menander, *Misoumenos*, and 3968, possibly *Thais* or *Kitharistes*.

The present text is identified as *Dis Exapaton* by its relationship to a sequence of scenes in the *Bacchides* of Plautus. That *Bacchides* derives from *Dis Exapaton* has generally been taken for granted, following Friedrich Ritschl's discussion of the topic in a lecture given in Breslau on 22 January 1836, and reprinted in his *Parerga Plautina et Terentiana* I (1845), where (see pp. 405–12) there is invoked among other evidence the correspondence between the famous lines *quem di diligunt | adulescens moritur* (*Ba.* 816 f.) and Menander's *ὄν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος*, fr. 111 KT, quoted with the ascription *Μενάνδρου Δις ἐξαπατώντος* by Stobaeus, *Ecl.* iv. 52, 27 (so **A**; the other sources give author, but not title). The total of 113 lines (including the heading *XOPOY*, Col. iii. 1), even though many of them survive only as a few letters, makes this much the longest piece of a comedy available for direct comparison with its Latin version. The discovery was first made known in an Inaugural Lecture given by me in University College London on 5 February 1968, under the title *Menander and Plautus: a Study in Comparison*, and published in November of that year for the College by H. K. Lewis (it will be quoted here as *MP*); a German version appears in *Wege der Forschung* CCXXXVI (1973) 249–76, for which the translator and the author were fortunate in having had the help of Professor Otto Skutsch. An extensive bibliography has since accumulated, to which reference will be made later.

The pages that follow give a presentation in the style of the Egypt Exploration Society, with transcript and palaeographical commentary supplemented by edited version, translation and notes. My primary concern has been to present the text and (so far as I can) to elucidate it. If the palaeographical commentary seems fuller than it need be, it is because experience has shown that photographs, which can clarify problems, also sometimes give clues that are false; if the notes to the edited version fall short of expectation by a reluctance to pursue every issue that has been raised or might be

thought to arise, it is not so much from a lack of interest in exploration as from a sharp sense, in the presence of continuing new discoveries, of the speed with which theories succumb to facts. In particular, I have rationed myself in regard to problems which lead away from the text before us into such matters as the putative structure of Menander's play in comparison with the play by Plautus as we have it, or into details that are at best tangential to the main task in hand.¹

The normal column of text, to judge by the two whose full height can be credibly reconstituted, was of 51 lines in 26.5 cm, with an upper and lower margin of some 3 cm each, and a breadth of 10–12 cm, with about 3 cm of space between columns. Accordingly, with a play of something over 1000 lines (and this one, with a single Act, apparently, of 364 lines, is not likely to have been shorter than that), we are to think of a roll roughly three metres long, or perhaps longer.

Aids to the reader are sparse. Changes of speaker are indicated in the conventional way by paragraphoi under the beginning of lines in which, or at the end of which, they occur; a double point, the dicolon, marks the place of the change. Speakers' names, some now damaged beyond recognition, appear intermittently in the left hand margins and between lines. Punctuation (again sometimes damaged or doubtful) is by single high point. There are occasional accents and angular rough breathings; the trema is found marking initial and final iota: acute accents, as in ii. 10 ἤξουσι, 29 μάτην, iii. 24 γόης, 28 τουτό σοι, 31 πιθανευομένην; grave, ii. 9 εἰς (cf. iii. 5?); circumflex, iii. 6 -νήραι (?), 46 τὸν (over first of diphthong); breathings, ii. 10 (as above), 13 μαλιτ' ἄδ' ὦ [= μάλιτθ', ἡ δ' ὦ[c, iii. 35–6 τ[.]τη and ἄ[.]α = αὔτη and οἶα; trema, ii. 9 ἰταμη (cf. iii. 39), 12 ἰωω, iii. 22 .] ο[.] ονί = τουτονί, with diagnostic value for ii. 30. Elision is normally made and marked by diastole (there is a strange example at ii. 1); at places where the diastole seems to be lacking (including iii. 32 δαναυτη and iii. 50 ουδεγω) it may well have been lost by abrasion or damage rather than omitted (there is scriptio plena at i. 49 σφόδρα ἀρμόττειν; cf. iii. 51).

All of these lectional aids appear to have been written *currente calamo* as part of a single process of copying, and not added by way of revision. The same seems to be true of the few corrections or interlinear additions that are present: ii. 5 ἄπαντας recognizable in the margin as a correction of παντας; 12 c written above the line to correct ἰωωε to ἰωωε ce; 47 ἀκολούθει written over a slip of the pen; iii. 21 μῆ added above the line, apparently correcting an omission; 32 unwanted ν deleted; at ii. 38 an apparently correct reading over the line, χρηστῶ, replaces a strange one in the text, and at ii. 46 παῖς stands, for whatever reason, over the proper name Κύρος. If one tries to set aside the numerous textual problems that are compounded by loss and damage, the underlying quality of the copy seems to be good (as indeed is its orthography). The corrections

¹ For instance, at *Bacchides* 499 I happen to prefer *ergo P* to *ego A*, but do not do more here than record the variant: for what it is worth, there are some first thoughts on this and other matters of Plautus' text in the light of *Dis Exapaton* in *MP* at pp. 10, 13, 17f. and notes.

πράττης for -ει at iii. 28 and οἶαν for οἶα at iii. 36 have found favour; part-markings, or the lack of them, may be at fault at ii. 3, 41 f. and 50; but what indications there are (one speaks with caution, without any check from other primary sources) do not suggest anything but a sound line of transmission.

The possibility that more fragments of the same copy might be found among the material from Oxyrhynchus has not been realized, as it was in time with *Kolax* (III 409+XXXIII 2655), with the unidentified play that now appears as LXII 4302 (PCG VIII. 1152) and perhaps also with *Leukadia* (see LX 4024). LXI 4093 (PCG VIII. 1149) is a scrap of a roll assigned to the later second or early third century, with remains of fifteen comic verses, and among them ΧΟΡΟΥ marking an act-ending (not that of Act I). A μειράκιον, a desperate young man in love, after previous misadventures, has someone discussing with him the idea of diverting his father's gold to his girl; but this kinship of motif did not enable me, in commenting on the piece, to do more than explore the possibilities of its belonging to *Dis Exapaton*. Likewise related in motif, this time to the earlier part of the play as seen from *Bacchides*, is a set of fragments from a roll of the third century BC that is now most conveniently available as PCG VIII. 1147: R. Nünlist (quoted there) makes a case for recognizing *Dis Exapaton*, but, once again, it is a question of exploration rather than of offering proof.

In fact, apart from the present piece, the only certain accession to the text of the *Dis Exapaton* from papyri so far known is its first line, or part of that, namely πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μειράκιον[, quoted in the familiar way as preface to a plot-summary, which would have been welcome indeed if anything from it had survived: P. IFAO 337, from Oxyrhynchus, assigned to the second century AD=fr. 1 Sandbach, fr. 1 Arnott. The μειράκιον here must be the youth we meet in our fragment as Moschos, the Pistoclerus of *Bacchides*; the identity of the person addressing the μειράκιον, as in LXI 4093, mentioned above, is open to conjecture. A tenable, though not a certain ascription (included in that sense by Arnott as fr. 6) is PAnt III. 122 (=PCG VIII. 1101), which consists of two small scraps of a codex assigned to the third century AD, and containing, as its main feature of interest, the proper name Lydos in the vocative, a name which is common to *Bacchides* and the present fragment of *Dis Exapaton*, but is also known from elsewhere, as Kassel-Austin remark; and Arnott quotes Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 65 as evidence that it was in fact common in Greek comedy. The case would be stronger if the letters] . ευροδοκ[in line 13 (12 Arnott) could dependably be read as]ὁ Κύρος δοκ[εῖ or something like that (the surface under the first two letters is partly stripped, as Dr Walter Cockle once pointed out to me); but the content in any case has proved to be so uninformative that one can only 'wait and see'.

Of the quoted fragments, apart from 111KT (=4 Sandbach/Arnott) the celebrated source of Byron's 'Whom the gods love, die young', which was referred to above, one other quotation needs to be mentioned here. Fr 109KT (=2 S/A) reads βουλευφόρων | <τῆν> ἡμετέραν <ῶ> Δημέα προκατέλαβες | ὄρασιν. Someone is addressing a man named Demeas in flattering and strangely elevated language. If we were on surer ground, we

could guess which of the two fathers of unknown name in the present fragment was being addressed by whom; but Fulgentius, the quoting source, is far from above suspicion, even if one discounts an observation by T. B. L. Webster that the words correspond to Terence, *Adelphoe* 385 ff., and therefore should come from Menander's *Second Adelphoi*, in the absence of any demonstrable link with *Dis Exapaton/Bacchides*.

That item set aside, the cast-list for our purposes consists of the old man we call A, Philoxenus in Plautus, the father of Moschos/Pistoclerus; and in the same household, the paidagogos Lydos, whose name, as has been mentioned, Plautus retained. Old man B, as we shall call him, is Plautus' Nicobulus, the father of Sostratos/Mnesilochus; and in their household is the slave Syros/Chrysalus. It may however be, as Aristotle suggests in the *Poetics* (1455b), that summaries are better without names; and if so, the following preface to more detailed discussion may here be recalled from *MP* 6 f.

Some two years before the play begins, a young man of Athens has been commissioned by his father to collect a debt from an acquaintance in Ephesus. On his travels, he meets a girl and falls in love with her: he understands she is going to Athens, and writes home to a friend to ask him to find where she is. The friend finds her (this is near the start of our story) newly arrived there to live in a house of a certain character with her sister, who promptly adds him to the circle of her admirers. The second young man is blessed with a relatively lenient father and a highly conventional tutor, whose standards he feels he has outgrown. If the learned tutor is in some sense the Dr Bartolo of the piece, the Figaro or Scapin is a slave, who comes back from Ephesus with his young master, and promptly concocts a tall story to divert the expectant parent from his gold so that the young man can use it to secure the girl he wants and get her away from a rival. Our part of the plot turns on confusion between the sisters, the two Bacchises of Plautus' title. The tutor has followed his charge disapprovingly as he brings provisions from the market for a party—a 'welcome to Athens' party as one might say—he goes there, and sees him behaving with his new girl friend in such a way that he must (he feels) get the young man's father to come and break it up at once. They arrive, and when we come in the first young man has also appeared on the scene: he knows nothing about the sister; he assumes from what the tutor has to tell him that the friend and the girl have betrayed him together, and is put in the further difficulty of being asked to intervene, and save his friend from the entanglement. If in this play the main attraction lies in the sheer pattern of the love intrigue and the portrayal of the human types and situations that go with it, there is nevertheless a more serious interest in the contrast between the pairs of characters—girls, fathers and sons—and, up to a point, in the problems of education and human relationship which Menander exploited more fully in the *Second Adelphoi*, the play adapted by Terence.

The Greek text of lines 11–30 (that is, i. 50–ii. 18) and 91–112 (iii. 29–50) was set out in an edited version in *MP*, which gave a summary account of the rest of the content, or quoted briefly in translation. These lines, together with whatever else he considered solid enough to be of practical use, were incorporated by F. H. Sandbach in his Oxford Classical Text of 1972 (1990²), as already cited above: that is to say, he added 47–63 (ii. 35–51) and also 89–90 (iii. 27–8), from which I had given a quotation in *Entr. Hardt* xvi (1970) 17, n. 1. Sandbach had detailed knowledge of the original from inspection, from photographs and from my full transcripts as they then existed; in the OCT and in *Menander: a commentary* (1973), as well as earlier in seminar discussions at the Institute of Classical Studies and by personal communication, he proposed a number of new readings and interpretations. W. G. Arnott's Loeb edition, vol. 1 (1979), also

cited already, has the same extent of text from the present papyrus as Sandbach, and he was acquainted with the material in the same way from the time of its first presentation. The text that is newly published here, taking Sandbach and Arnott as base, consists therefore of two elements: (a) new readings in lines previously in circulation, for example 18, 22, 24 (ii. 6, 10, 12); and (b) 52 fragmentary lines or traces of lines, comprising 1-10 (=i. 40-49), 31-46 (=ii. 19-34), 64-88 (=iii. 2-26) and 113 (=iii. 51). These leftovers from the feast, it will be seen, add some details of interest, and may add more if other texts are found to overlap with them; but they have it in common that they are hard to present undeceptively without an apparatus of documentation and comment that must sometimes seem to take back with the left hand anything that it ventures to put forward with the right.²

The initial task of reassembling the fragments could not have been either contemplated or completed without many hours of care and skill expended by Dr Walter Cockle, whose name appears in this publication for other reasons as well. Several other colleagues in London and elsewhere suggested possible new readings and contributed interpretations, as well as contributing beneficially to the demolition of some of mine; Dr Revel Coles checked my transcript against the original, to reassuring and sometimes to productive effect, as in line 53 (ii. 41). No-one, of course, but myself is responsible for the use I have made of this help.

The publication of the *Dyskolos* of Menander from PBodmer IV in 1959 was to be followed within a decade by other important accessions to knowledge of the author, both from papyri and from works of art illustrating the plays. In this challenging situation the *Dis Exapaton* fragments played their part. The field was surveyed in *Ménandre*, a group of contrasting studies 'préparés et présidés par E. G. Turner', and published in 1970 as *Entretiens Hardt*, tome xvi: it includes an important paper on *Bacchides* by Cesare Questa. There was another colloquium held in Geneva some twenty years later, this time 'publié par Eric Handley et André Hurst', under the title *Relire Ménandre*, in the series *Recherches et Rencontres* 2 (1990), where (p. 180) some recent bibliographical surveys are quoted. Their listings can be usefully augmented from Erich Segal, 'Scholarship on Plautus 1965-1976' in *Classical World* 74 (1981) 353-433, from editions of *Bacchides* by Cesare Questa (Firenze, 1975²) and John Barsby (Warminster, 1986), as well as from Otto Zwierlein's very substantial study *Zur Kritik und Exegese des Plautus*, especially volumes I (1990) and IV (1992). Together with a contemporary and independent study by Silvia Rizzo,³ Zwierlein's book can be cited here, ἀντι πολλῶν δύο, to represent one direction of scholarly advance, while the *Poetae Comici Graeci* of Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin, with volume VI, Menander, in preparation, can (and will) represent another.

² The original plan to publish a full text with appropriate commentary as Supplement 22 of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* proved in the event not to be practicable, in spite of (or perhaps because of) my being at the same time prospective author, Editor of Publications and Director.

³ 'Da Chrysalo a Siro: per una ricostruzione del DIS EXAPATON di Menandro' in *Dicti Studiosus* [in honour of Scévola Mariotti] (Urbino, 1990), 9-48.

It will not be seen as a depreciation of all that has been achieved by later work in the field of New Comedy, both Greek and Latin, if the tribute paid near the beginning of *MP* to Eduard Fraenkel's *Plautinisches im Plautus* of 1922 (with the revision as *Elementi plautini in Plauto* of 1960) is recalled here and now for the sake of all that it observed and all that it anticipated.

Col. i

40]..[
 41]..[ιδ[
 42]..[τρ[
 43]..[ρν[
 44]τ.[ν[5
 45]ν..[.]..[ανς.ςτ.α[.]ε[
 46]η.[.]..[.]..[προίξε[.]..[
 47]..[οει...δι.πα[.]..[
 48]..[.]..[τ'ε.ηκοικ[.]..[ς[
 49]..[φ.δρααρμοττειν[.]..[10
 50]υδ.κεινονε.καλ.[
 51]ν.ν.υθετ.ι.ν.αν[

Col. i: ends of twelve lines with lower margin are numbered at the left by correspondence with cols ii and iii, and at the right by the continuous numbering in general use for reference to the text; below, as in 40/1, both numbers are given.

40/1 Perhaps]λ'[

41/2 Foot of diagonal and upright, as for ν or αι, then traces of high horizontal: could be]ντιδ[with nothing lost

42/3 Perhaps]ςτρ[(C]ωςτρ[ατ- ?), with nothing lost; so in 4]χρρν[looks possible; in 5, with a vertical before the break,]την[or]τ[ο]ν

45/6 After]αν, cω rather than cε, then cτ rather than cν: i.e. Cώςτρα[τ]ε suits

46-9=7-10 The small scrap at the left has been joined where it was found adhering when the fragments were first examined for transcription; but if rightly so, it adds nothing but doubts. The horizontal fibres are stripped, except for a band of about 2 mm with a double dark strand that seems to match; experiment with other placings has not revealed one so suitable

46/7]..[., lower part of forward-sloping upright.]..[., second is an upright, otherwise only particles of ink. ξ, not τ, is verified by rh end of lower horizontal, then after ε indeterminate traces, followed by parts of a round letter; all unclear after that, with what looks like a sloping upright stroke of interlinear ink, as for a correction, at the end. κα[τα]προίξε[ι], -εξθ(ε) or -εξθ(αι) can be considered (though if κ, one would expect to see more of it); προίξε is unexpected in the context ostensibly given by Plautus, nor is part of προικνέομαι easy to accommodate on any account. At the end, one could guess (no more) ἐμοῦ or μου corrected from (ε)μοι

47/8]..[., an upright, as for ποείν (foot of upright), ποείν or a compound of either, with nothing lost; next, a tall upright (? φ), then two traces perhaps from one letter (? η); then δι.(? δις, or rather δη); last but one, a forward-sloping vertical—all this too ambiguous to articulate

48/9]..[., high sloping stroke, as r.h. upper part of ν, and τ' (rather than γ') lead one to conjecture κέ]λενέ τ'; the joined fragment has compatible, though indecisive, traces of ink

49/10]..[., low rising curve, possibly μ, and so perhaps μη] [c]φόδρα; not, if the joined fragment fits, οὐ [c]φόδρα

50/11 High ink after]υδ may come from top of ε, diastole being abraded or lacking; last is a mere particle of ink, and could be from any letter

51/12 After τ, foot of letter, top and foot of vertical, then horizontal on line and trace of high ink following, as for δ'; after that trace of vertical and perhaps horizontal joining ν, for εραν[; but η' δν[vel sim. is not ruled out

]αν, Cώςτρα[τ]ε,

ἐκ τῆς οἰκ[ία]ς
 c]φόδρ' ἀρμόττειν [10
 c]ὐ δ' ἐκείνον ἐκκάλε[ι
]ν, νουθέτει δ' ἐναν[τίον,

11-17 corresponds to Plautus, *Bacchides* 494-499, here quoted from Questa² (1975): 494 (PHILOXENUS=A) Mnesiloche, hoc tecum oro ut illius animum atque ingenium regas:

The lines of *Bacchides* quoted under the Greek text here and later are those which seem to have the most direct relationship to *Dis Exapaton*. Zwierlein, in *Kritik* I at pp. 26-7, 32-3 and 54-5 illustrates his discussion with diagrams in which the two texts are set out in parallel.

(6) ... Sostratos ... (7) ... (?) [not get away with it] ... (9) ... [? tell him to come] out of the house ... (10) ... [?not] to be very fitting ... (11 f.) (A)... you call him out [...] and reason with him face-to-face;

6 It is not clear whether the vocative is addressed by Sostratos to himself, as at 23, or to him by one of the other two characters present, as by Lydos in 15. Mnesilochus speaks to himself aside at *Ba.* 489-91, though without using his name.

7 The presence of καταπροίξεθ(αι), or some other part of the verb, would be congenial to the context, but is not palaeographically verifiable. In theory, either one of the others could ask Sostratos not to let his friend get away with his present behaviour, or Sostratos himself, aside, could be resolving that he/she/they will not get away with it. The latter possibility seems more likely. The father's relatively mild reaction, consistently with Plautus' portrayal of him earlier in the sequence, is given by 12 ff., notably by νουθέτει δ' ἐναντίον | αὐτόν τε cώσον; Lydos' cruder attitude is summed up in 15-17, with χρῆσαι πικρῶς and the following words, with their Plautine counterpart. Sostratos here could be expressing the content of the aside referred to on 5, which may be further reflected in the colour which Plautus gives to the soliloquy to follow, with his *ego faxo hau dicet naclam quam derideat* (506) and *numquam edepol uiaa me intridebit* (515). Some sign of Sostratos' anger and distress needs to be manifest, in order that Lydos, with a typical comic misinterpretation, can say whatever was Menander's equivalent of *uiden ut aegre patitur gnatum esse corruptum tuom*, and so on, as at 492 f.

9-10 Possibly κ]έλενέ τ' ἐκ, κτλ.: 2nd sing. imperative is presumably the right interpretation if what survives of the word is rightly recognized. 'Call him out of the house' could theoretically represent a remark passed between the would-be lenient father and the pedagogue, in either direction, or an anticipation of what

26	[11 ±] . . [.] . . [
27	[12 ±] . ν[
28	[12 ±] cv . [] . . . ε	40
29	[10 ±] . αμ . [] μαντουμάτην:	
30	[11 ±] . [.] . [] . ρμενος	
31	[11 ±] ε[]	
32	[11 ±] ε[ca. 7] ω[8 ±] επυθόμη :	
33	[11 ±] . [ca. 7] . [8 ±] . αβω	45
34	[] c[8 ±] . πανταχο	
35	[] ε[8 ±] δωκενδεςοι	
36	[] . [. . . .] . ντοκον	
37	[7 ±] . [ca. 11] . ειδον· μηδεεν	
38	[7 ±] . θ[ca. 10] α . εμεικρωξενω:	50
39	[6 ±] τιτ[2-3]το[3-4] . ωκο . ζωνδευροσοι	
40	[6 ±] ςατ[3+]ςιο . [2+] . υμεισπαιταχυ:	
41	[6 ±] αρ[.] μων[] μηπρος . χεκενωλογ	
42	[6 ±] πα . [] ωρμη[] [.] . δεπε . ουλευς· ουδεεις:	
43	[7 ±] εο[.] . μον[.] . ετ . [.] . τοχ . υσιον:	55
44	[7 ±] εο[.] ιμον· [.] τοσεφυλατ . ενλαβω	
45	[6 ±] ςβ . [.] νδιφ . [.] ειπατερ· χρηστ . ςφοδρ . ι	
46	εφ[5 ±] ςε[.] . . τιου . οσυροσεβουλετο:	
47	[.] [.] ε[. . . .] ν· μ . τεμο . δ· ακο[. . .] λουθεικαιλαβε	
48	[.] [.] το[. .] . . ιο : παιζ . ις· ακολ . υθεικαιλαβε:	60
49	ου[. . .] . ακολουθω· οσμ . νονκαλωστεμ . ι	
50	ω . [. . .] κεχρησαι· ρινλαβειν· μαχομαι[.] ι . . .	
51	ε . [. .] δεπαντωντο . . . προουργιαιτερογ	75A

coronis

26		
27		
28		
29		τά]μαντοῦ μάτην:
30		-]ακμένος
31		
32		] ἐπυθόμην:
33		]λαβω·
34		] . πανταχοῦ
35		ε]δωκεν δέ σοι
36		]τῶν τόκον
37		] . ειδον· μηδὲ ἐν
38		ἐγκ]άλει χρηστῶι ξένω
39		ἦ]κω κομίζων δευρό σοι
40		[πάνθ'. (B) ὅ]ca τ[ὸ χρυ]σίον, [δό]θ' ὑμεῖς, παῖ, ταχύ.
41	(CΩ.)	[λήψει παρ' [ἡ]μῶν· μὴ πρόσεχε κενῶ λόγω<ι>.
42		[οὐδεῖς] παρῶρμη[ς', ο]ὔδ' ἐπεβούλευς'; <CΩ.> οὐδὲ εἷς.
43	(B)	[οὐ πρὸς Θ]εό[τ]ιμον [κ]ατετέ[θ]η τὸ χρυσίον;
44	(CΩ.)	[οὐ πρὸς Θ]εό[τ]ιμον· αὐτὸς ἐφύλαττεν λαβῶν,
45		τ[ὸ τε πρὸ]ς βί[ο]ν διφο[ρ]εῖ, πάτερ. (B) χρηστὸς ςφόδρα·
46		ἐφ[ρόντι]ςέ τι. τί οὖν ὁ Κύρος ἐβούλετο;
47	CΩ.	ἐ[ατέο]ν· μετ' ἐμοῦ δ' ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ λαβὲ
48		τὸ [χρ]υσίον. (B) παίζεις. (CΩ.) ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ λαβέ.
49	(B)	οὐ[κοῦ]ν ἀκολουθῶ. ὁς μόνον, καλῶς τέ μοι
50		ὡς [δεῖ] κέχρησαι· πρὶν λαβεῖν μάχομαί [τ]ί σοι;
51		ἐμ[οῖ] δὲ πάντων τοῦτο προῦργιαίτερον.

coronis

[364]

Col. ii: most probably 51 lines, by alignment with the reconstructed col. iii, and so numbered at the left; but since there is no demonstrable link of text or horizontal fibres between the pieces that make up the upper part of this column and those that make up the lower part, the presumed alignment might be a line or so wrong; this could be a matter of moment if a potential overlap with another text were to offer itself.

The damage is not limited to missing pieces and holes. At two places it can be seen that the surface, which is sometimes abraded, was already imperfect when the comedy was copied on the back of the document. At ii. 36–46, a narrow strip of vertical fibres was missing towards the right of the column, and the exposed horizontal fibres carry single letters or parts of them, as with δ in *δευρο* (ii. 39) and ι in *παι* (ii. 40); Dr Walter Cockle pointed out to me the same phenomenon in the Oxyrhynchus roll of Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, VI 852, fr. 64 col. ii. A larger vertical fault ran down the column from the top, appearing somewhat to the right of centre in ii. 1 ff., where it has been aggravated by later damage, then narrowing and swinging left with the run of the fibres to reappear at the foot in the form of damage and stripping along the break between the two fragments that join there, while the fragment which gives middles of lines in the middle part of the column is stripped in a corresponding place towards its right. Down to ii. 10, the fault is indicated by blank brackets ([]) in the transcript, and where the text is certain, one can see the scribe avoiding it; towards the foot, most of the corresponding weak spot evidently carried, or still carries, a normal quota of 2–3 letters; elsewhere, doubts about the incidence of the fault and the copyist's behaviour in relation to it add uncertainty to the reckoning of lacunae, where the space actually filled may have been a letter or two less than the space estimated. Two further examples of copyist's behaviour when faced with missing or defective strips of vertical fibres are in the fragment of Menander, *Misoumenos*, XXXIII 2657, fr. col. i, and the fragment of Apollonius, *Argonautica* ii, XXXIV 2697; both with plates; and see below on iii. 45 and 51

1/13 ν is represented by the foot of an upright, followed by another with trace of joining diagonal; then (read by JRR) θ', with the diastole, unusually large, on the far side of an apparently unwritten space (see the note above, and on 2/14 below); then ink taken as part of ο, to make *δλην*. My original reading (in *MP*) was *φλην*, requiring the θ to be taken (dubiously) as the remains of a cancelled letter; for the rest, φ is followed by a trace of a vertical, and then part of a down-sloping diagonal: *φλωπ* can easily be guessed, but not verified
2/14 *προ*, fibres displaced; κ, well represented by diverging diagonals, follows δε with a gap of (say) two broad letters

3/15 *ικαν*, c has ο as a minute particle of ink in abrasion, looking like a complete ο in photographs; but any other letter would most likely have left more ink. *αυτωι* is probably so to be read, the presumed ν with a flattened top being an oddity; but note *αιχυνει*, 5, and *ληγουσα*, 17; EGT once considered *απτου*, in which πτ would be acceptable, but hardly ον; nor is the interpretation of *αυτωι* (if that is what it is) agreed

5/17 Between] ιλ. υς[and] απ-, two letters' space; the letters read as ας are displaced downwards, but allow the word *απαγτας* to be recognized as a marginal correction for the *παντας* with which the copyist began the line

6/18 The line under the marginal speaker's name is not present at iii. 2 (abrasion), iii. 29 or iii. 42. *ενπληη*, with two uprights for η on twisted fibres, then foot of an upright; next, a low particle of ink, indeterminate;] . [, two traces of high ink, perhaps from the same letter, then an upright, and last, two indeterminate particles. Given *ενπληηκ-*, *ενπληηγ-* as likely, one can conjecture *εμπληηκτ-* (*εμπληη[κτωσ εχει*, tentatively, Arnott) or—as I now suggest—*εν πληηηι μιαι[ι]*, which, although not verified by the traces of letters, is, I believe, consistent with them

7/19 Uncertainty about the end of 6 leaves articulation and meaning of the beginning of the line unclear: *τουτου/τουτ' ου*, and *καθεξει* active or middle, not to consider *καθεξει<ς>* as a further option, with Sandbach

9/21 After *μεσον*, upright, then rh tip of horizontal; τξ rather than γξ

10/22 After *τουωνν*, high ink, which I now take as a high point (by error from *τουωνν* below?), not as a trace of a letter. Between [] and *νηδεια* (as in *MP*, after T. B. L. Webster), there is high ink, then two uprights, apparently joined, then a trace of a third letter, perhaps part of a down-sloping diagonal; on twisted fibres, below the presumed]π[of 9, traces of a triangular letter which may be α: whence ον[]α[ι]μην

11–13 = 23–4 Reckoning the number of letters lost in the gap is to some extent conjectural because of the unknown incidence of blank papyrus at mid-line, and a slight warp to the left at line-ending. The reckoning and the possibilities for restoration can be tested against the preceding lines, which are not quite so badly affected, and also against the following, where there is help from the echo of the passage in the next Act at 91 ff. and from the recognizable convergence of Plautus' adaptation

11/23 In the gap after mid-line, downward-sloping diagonal followed by upright, taken originally (*MP*)

as αν in *ε[π]αν[αγε, C]ωστρατε[]*, but better, I now think, as αγ: i.e. *ε[π]αν[αγ]ε*. There is a trace of ink on twisted and displaced fibres below the presumed]α[of 10; if it contributes to this line as part of the]α or of the letter (ν?) before that, its contribution is too unclear to count

12/24 c omitted by haplography and duly restored; punctuation may be lost after *πεισει*; at] . [, high curving ink, as top of ε or c; at the end, the word *πατρος* is suitable, no more, with credible remains for *πα*, of a horizontal for τ and a curve for ο, otherwise only particles

13/25 τ is represented by top and foot of upright and right side of horizontal; after diastole, trace of upright from a letter broken away, then high ink taken as breathing: i.e. -τ' η

14/26 A crack after]ω, but hardly ω[ι]

15–33 = 27–45 The placing of the fragment which gives letters from the middles of these lines is consistent with its physical character on both sides, but in the tattered and stripped state of the parts put in contact, confirmation must be found in the conformity in alignment and style of writing of the comic verses and from the words which result in three successive lines from the join as made

16/28] . , end of high horizontal and trace of foot,]π, rather than]γ or]τ

17/29] . , foot of down-sloping diagonal

18/30] . [, first may be trace of high loop, i.e. ρ, second of high horizontal; before ι, sloping upright suits first stroke of ν

19–25 = 31–37 The lines have lost three or four metrical elements from the beginning; warping to the left, more obvious from 26 onwards, makes it hard to be precise in indicating numbers of letters lost, while those that survive offer few clear leads to the content

19/31 If *τον πατερα* or *τον πατερ'* following the conjectural τ[ουτο]υι of 18, there is room for little else: τ[ι]ς, *μηθεν*, *κο* *εμηθεν*[τα] or *δπω* *ε μη* ... would be pressing the limits of length; ?ε]μ[ον πατερα

20/32 High horizontal joins α:]τ'αμ' φ δω[, or what?

21/33 υ[ι], high horizontal, as ντ[ι], νυ[ι]; at end, shallow curve open at right: i.e. *αν τε παντ[ε]ς* vel sim. would suit

22/34 Before ν, tip of mid-line horizontal suits ε; at end, α[ι] or perhaps λ[ι], not ο: as if *εξ'εαιτ'* α[ι]ν

23/35 ι[ι] or υ[ι]: the foot is missing

24/36 η]μερών?

25/37 επ[ι] likely: the middle stroke of ε is prolonged, rising above a trace on the line; perhaps therefore τ[ω]ν πεπ[οιημένων], to be echoed in 78

28–33 = 40–45 See the introductory note to Col. ii above: since, for lack of close physical contact or tenable textual supplements, the fragment which gives a letter or two from the middle of these lines cannot be located with precision in relation to the fragment which gives the ends, the layout of the text presented here could admit a degree of adjustment if there were reason to make it

28/40 γ [ι] or π[ι]. End: foot of diagonal and trace to right, as λ, χ, then particles of low ink: e.g.]λις,]χιμ

29/41 High horizontal joins α;] . [, a vertical

30/42 Before c, foot of diagonal, suits α, as for *αμενος*, *βεβη]αμενος*, *πεπλ]αμενος*, etc.

34/46] . , high ink sloping down, perhaps]ς

36/48] . [, top and bottom of tall letter split by warp, perhaps ρ; before ν, specks of ink consistent with foot of τ and parts of ο

37/49 Before *ειδον*, top of upright,]ν,]μ

38/50] . , slightly curved diagonal, as for]αθ[ι],]λθ[ι];]αλει probable from foot of diagonal after α; above the line, *χρηστω* or *-ωι*—no doubt rightly, in view of 45/57 below—but *μικρω/μικρω* has no obvious explanation either as misreading or variant

39/51 A particle of low ink before ω; the two letters after *κο* almost wholly abraded

40/52 ζ[ι] rather than ε[ι] with cross-stroke lost. τ[ο]χρ[υ] seems rather long, but there is warping here, and the letters *ειω* are themselves small and close. *υμεις* on displaced and partly overlapping fibres, but enough survives to make it certain; before the ν,]ς,]ε, or crossbar of]θ

41/53]απ[ι]μων gives generous space for one letter; after that, a narrow space: punctuation lost, or faulty surface? A horizontal crack affects the latter part of the line, which was first read successfully by Dr Revel Coles: the *μη πρόσεχ'* *εκειναι λογωι* of OCT¹ rests on a misunderstanding corrected in OCT²; it need not be quoted further. The ω of *λογω<ι>* is just a trace; I see no ink in the abrasion after it.

42/54]α [ι]ω-, a long vertical before the gap, ρ rather than γ; if so, the spacing looks generous, but only half of ω survives. After *μη*, the surface is abraded (and more in 43 below); it may be that here, as

possibly in 41, the copyist skipped a letter space to avoid an outbreak of the fault that starts at the top of the column and runs down

43/55 Ink mostly gone in mid-line, but κ]αττε[θ]η suits well

44/56 .[, foot of rising diagonal, as α[or λ[

45/57 Trace of high ink from letter over paragraphos. In χρηστ... , τ is represented by a broken horizontal; then ρ rather than ω, and ζ rather than γ

46/58 In second place, tall vertical; specks of ink to left suggest bow of φ; no trace of paragraphos below, but the surface is poor. [] ., end of high horizontal, then a vertical: if τ, the space was probably filled. Over the name Κύρος, the word παῖς is to be recognized—perhaps a variant, perhaps a clarification: but can that have been needed at this point?

47/59 Trace of ink in margin as of nota personae, perhaps ζ[ωστρ. λο of ακολουθει written by first hand over letters now obscured: ?[θει.]

48/60 Trace of ink in margin as for first letter of nota personae, unfortunately unrecognizable, but might be top of a vertical

49/61 .oc, horizontal on line suits δ

50/62 ω .[, curve open to right

51/63 Mid-stroke of ε links to next letter; trace of down sloping curve suggests μ

A system of lines beginning with three horizontals opposite 51 and a long forked paragraphos under the line is followed, on surface mostly lost, by remains of (it seems) three more horizontal lines, and then by what look like traces of beak, body and foot of a coronis.¹ Opposite, to the right of the column, the numeral would seem to give an exact total of lines in the Act, namely 364. The T is damaged, represented by upright and right half of cross-stroke, with a particle of ink which seems to survive from the left half. I do not see a sound alternative (cf. *MP* 16); and the same conclusion was reached after independent examinations of the original by Dr Revel Coles and by Mr J. C. B. Lowe (cf. *CR* 35 [1985] at p. 397). The problem, if this is so, is that 364 lines is an extraordinarily long Act by comparison with any figures we have for Menander so far. There is as yet no Act as long as 300 lines, and they can be under 200. A way out might be found by supposing that TΞΔ is a scribal error for PΞΔ (it cannot, we have seen, be read as PΞΔ, as Anton Primmer proposed); but if so, was the copyist so unconscious of his work as to be two hundred lines, or about four columns, in error? The remaining alternative is to think of 364 as a running total, for verses of the play copied up to this point, a solution suggested by Turner, in *Entr. Hardt* xvi (1970) at p. 224, and favoured by Zwierlein, *Kritik* IV. 340–3; but while we have parallels for totals of verses on a page, or at the end of a book of Homer, the normal running totals are those stichometrics that are expressed in hundreds. According to one's larger theories of the composition of the play, that would mean two Acts or three, and not one, in 364 lines; but in that matter the palaeographical facts are of no more aid.²

¹ See Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*² (1987) 12 with n. 59 and pl. 40.

² *Mutatis mutandis*, I should like to think that the bibliographical situation here is similar to that which underlies the counts of lines and descriptions of *notae criticae* that are found in the scholia to Aristophanes, for instance *Clouds* 889d (p. 177 Koster):

διπλή και κορωνίς ἀποχωρήσαντων τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. μέλος δὲ τοῦ χοροῦ οὐ κείται, ἀλλὰ γέγραπται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ΧΟΡΟΥ και ἔπεται ἐν εἰσθέσει ἀναπαικτικῶν <ἀμοιβαίων> τῶν ὑποκριτῶν and *Peace* 173a (p. 35 f. Holwerda)

διπλή και ἐκθεσις εἰς ἰάμβους τριμέτρους ρκς' ὄν τὸ τελευταῖον και νησιώτας· δεῦρ' ἔτ' ὁ πάντες λεῶ. The topic of act-structure in the *Dis Exapaton* is as prominent as any in writings on the play. Among recent studies, Mark L. Damen, 'Translating scenes: Plautus' adaptation of Menander's *Dis Exapaton*', *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 205–31, in the course of presenting his own ideas, gives at p. 215 n. 3 a concise briefing on the main problems and the principal earlier discussions.

13 ff.: P. Ba. 495 ff., PH. = A continues, then MNESILOCHUS = CΩ., and LYDUS, same name:

495 serua tibi sodalem et mihi filium. Mn. factum uolo.

499 PH. in te ego hoc onus omne impono. Lyde, sequere hac me. Ly. sequor.

496 melius multo, me quoque una si cum hoc reliqueris.

497 PH. adfatim est. <Ly.> Mnesiloche, cura, ei, concastiga hominem probe,

498 qui dedecorat te, me, amicosque alios flagitiis suis.

499 so placed in P, after 498 in A; ego A, ergo P; impono A, -pone P 496 multo A, esset P; hoc A, illo P; reliqueris A, relinques P 497 est om. A; <Ly.> Hermann; cura i (ut uid.) A, cura et P 498 amicosque Camerarius, amicos atque P, amicum atque A

18–30 corresponds to P. Ba. 500–525, in particular 25–9 to Ba. 515–9:

515 (Mn.) numquam edepol uiua me iridebit. nam mihi

516 decretumst renumerare iam omne aurum patri.

517 igitur mi inani atque inopi subblandibitur

518 tum quom mihi <illud> nihilo pluris referet

519 quam si ad sepulcrum mortuo narret logos.

518 suppl. Camerarius; tum quom nihilo pluris mihi blandiri refert A 519, so edd., narres (ut uid.) A; dicat iocum P

(ii. 1–18 = 13–30)

and save him and the whole household of your friends. Lydos, let's go.

Lydos If you'd leave me here too ...

(A) Let's go. He can cope.

Lydos For him, Sostratos, some sharp treatment; go for him hard, the wastrel; he's a disgrace to his friends, to all of us.

Sostr. So now he's gone; gone, and at a single stroke she'll master him. Caught Sostratos first, didn't you? She'll deny it, of course; that's clear to me—she stops at nothing—and all the gods will come right in: 'Hope for no luck if I did'—by Zeus, yes!—'A bad end if I did.' [Back off,] Sostratos; perhaps she'll persuade you: 'So [you're here as] father's slave, then?'. Yes, for sure—and let her try her persuasion on me when I'm empty-handed and penniless. I'll return all the gold to my father, and she'll stop her persuasive pleading as soon as she sees, as the proverb is, that she's telling a tale to a corpse. But I must [go for] him now. [But I can see coming] here [my father, no less ...]

(ii. 29 = 41) ... my wordly goods in vain ... (ii. 35–6 = 47–8) ... he gave you [...] the interest ...

(ii. 37–51 = 49–63)

Sostr. ... (?) do not in any particular [...] (?) accuse a foreign partner, an honest man (50) ... I have come back here and brought you [everything].

(B) [So far as] the gold [goes], you pay up fast, my son.

Sostr. [You'll get it] from us; don't credit an empty story.

 [Nobody] moored alongside, no-one in a conspiracy?

<Sostr.> No-one at all.

(B) The gold was [not] deposited with Theotimos (55)?

Sostr. [Not] with Theotimos: he took it and looked after it himself, and the yield of income is doubled, father.

(B) A most honest man: he took some trouble. What then was Syros' idea?

Sostr. [Let that be], and come with me and get the gold.

(B) You're joking.

Sostr. Come and get it (60).

(B) I'll certainly come. Just pay up, and you've treated me properly, as [it should be]; am I to pick a quarrel with you before I get it? For me that's the most immediate objective of all.

13 οἰκίαν θ' ἄλην, in spite of initial resistance by me, has rightly won recognition, for with ἀδτόν ... οἰκίαν τε linked in parallel, the leading position of ἀδτόν in this final flourish of the father's plea can be seen to be valid, otherwise not. The first τε is a sentence connective: one might paraphrase 'talk to him face to face and that way you'll be the salvation of all of us as well as your friend'.

14 f. The *προάγωμεν*, impatiently repeated, cuts off Lydos' suggestion that he might stay too (his interest in doing so is a point not lost on Plautus); for the range of tone in this use of *προάγω*, see on *Dysk.* 905 f. The *ἀντῶ* of 15 is worrying, and not only because not certainly read. One can wonder if it owes its prominent place to an echo of 13 (as it were 'Him? You should be harsh, and hound him ...'); Sandbach suggested attaching it to *ικανὸς οὐδτος*, and supposing a slip in the part-marking (OCT²; and, with supporting argument, in *Sileno* 11 [1985] 203–5); but is it really wanted there? Arnott (Loeb) stays with the papyrus. At *Epitr.* 45/221, *ἔμοι μὲν πᾶς ἱκανός* is 'anyone will suit me', said in agreeing to an arbitrator; but here the idea is that Sostratos can cope with the situation rather than that he is acceptable to the person concerned in it. Perhaps worth noting is PTEb I. 37.17–19 (73 BC) *γέγραφα σοι ἵνα ἱκανὸς γένη* '... so that you may undertake the matter' (ed. pr.).

It was Lydos, according to Plautus' version, who had taken signs of distress in Sostratos wholly as disinterested concern for his friend (*Ba.* 492–3). Such an irony would be typical of Menander; A now uses the consideration as an excuse for not taking on the role of stern father, and in turn deprives Lydos of the satisfaction of any further involvement; he has one final outburst, and then Sostratos' pent-up feelings break out as the pair leave. The whole brief, pointed sequence is framed by the references to *ἐκείνον* in 11 and 17.

18 *ἤδη ... φροῦδος* 'So he's gone then?', *MP* 11 f., taken as referring to the abrupt departure of A; and so Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (1988) 39 f., noting (after Bain) *φροῦδοι* at *Dysk.* 776 (troch. tetr.). But the colour of *φροῦδος*, with its background in tragedy (reinforced by Aristophanic parody, as at *Clouds* 718 ff.) may yet be too strong for that, and 'gone for good' (Sandbach) or 'come to grief' (Arnott) in reference to Moschos, now seems to me a likelier view, with *οὔτος* here and *τούτου* in 19 as the same person.

ἐν πληγῇ μᾶ, 'with a single stroke', almost 'in one fell swoop', is a guess; but (as perhaps with *φροῦδος*), the hint of colour it brings is not inappropriate to an angry or sarcastic man. The guess is based on A. *Persae* 251 f., *ὡς ἐν μᾶ πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολὺς | ἄλβος, τὸ Περσῶν δ' ἄνθος οἴχεται πεσόν* (for *πληγῇ* see also 907). Otherwise, assuming that *ἐνπλ.* stands for *ἐμπλ.*, *ἐμπληκτος*, *-τως* can be considered.

19 *καθέξει ... προήρπασας*, changing from 'She'll overcome him' to 'You caught Sostratos first': Sostratos is torn between thinking of his girl in relation to Moschos, and thinking of her in relation to himself, and to write *καθέξει* would be a trivial piece of smoothing. The reflective speech that follows is one of several examples in Menander of speeches in which a situation is imagined or recalled in terms of an exchange of dialogue between the parties present, sometimes, as here, including the speaker himself; the exchange is regularly conducted without introductory formulae, such as 'She said', 'I'll say' or the like, thus offering an actor an interesting challenge of delivery, and a critic, especially when the text is damaged, a teasing problem of recognition. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 11. 3. 91 gives the impression that actors of Menander could overdo their mimicry of other voices on such occasions; for examples and discussion see Handley-Hurst, *Relire Ménandre* (1990), at pp. 137 f., with the reference there to John Blundell, *Menander and the monologue* (1980), Ch. 3 (pp. 65–80), and the addition of the lines of *Misoumenos* published and discussed by Margaret Machler in *LIX 3967*; Arnott, *ed. Men.* II (1996) 332 ff.

προαρπάξω is quoted by LSJ from Lucian, *Timon* 54 of a bird of prey snatching food, and is apt to suggest the aggressive element in the girl's attractiveness; similarly *Διδύμη με συνήρπασεν* in an erotic epigram by Asclepiades (*HE* 828 ff. = *AP* 5.210): 'the *ἱταμός*,' says Sandbach on 21, 'does not sit still but boldly takes the initiative or the offensive'.

21 f. 'All the gods will come right in', i.e. be invoked, and so involved; for *εἰς μέσον* there is a selection of references in LSJ under *μέσος* III b, to which one might add *Aspis* 202 f. *μηκέτι | Δᾶον ἄγετ' εἰς μέσον*, 'Don't involve Daos any more'. One can call on all the gods collectively, as at Ar. *Thes.* 274 and M. *Dysk.* 762 (*πάντων [τῶν] θεῶν ἐναντίον*), or on several of them in a string of oaths, as at *Samia* 309 f.; it is not clear what Sostratos is supposed to have had in mind, but it does seem that the next words are the first of two strong successive denials put into the girl's mouth.

22–3 *μὴ τοῖνυν δναίμην* The type-example, quoted by LSJ under *δνάμη* II. 2 and by Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* II. 321, is S. *OT* 644 f., *μὴ νυν δναίμην, ἀλλ' ἀραῖος, εἴ ἐτι | δέδρακ', δλοίμην, ὦν ἐπαιτιᾶ με δρᾶν*; but here, as commonly in such denials, the 'if I did' is taken for granted, *νῆ Δε' ἐξώλ[η]ς ἄρα | Cώ]στρατ' ἀπολοί[μην]*, *Dysk.* 94 f., where commentators give more. For the defiant *τοῖνυν*, see Ar. *Wasps* 1140 f. with MacDowell's note, *Perik.* 80/270, and in general Denniston, *Particles*² 572 f. (4). It is likely that *κακῆ κακῶς τοῖνυν* follows the same pattern. What is not so clear (at least to me) is whether the *νῆ Δία* belongs to one or other of the protests or (as I here assume) is interjected by Sostratos, a sign of his resistance, like the *ἐπάναγε* to come.

23 *ἐπάναγε* (the surviving letters now read as ε[. . .]αγ[. . .]) is paralleled as a self-address by *Dysk.* 214 f. *παθε θρηγῶν, Cώστρατε* (not at first recognized as such, but see *Relire Ménandre*, quoted on 19), and (from an older man in love) by *Samia* 349 f., *Δημέα, νὺν ἄνδρα χρῆ | εἶναί σε, κτλ.* It cuts off, as I here assume, a protest,

κακῆ κακῶς ... (ἀπολοίμην), not a curse, *κακῆ κακῶς ... (ἀπόλοιτο)*; but it is hard to exclude that alternative reading: 'So damn you', *MP* (before 22 was read with *δναίμην*), and similarly Sandbach and Arnott.

24 *δοῦλος ἦκεις*, more guesswork: LSJ s.v. *ἦκω* I. 5 quotes passages from tragedy in this sense, but note also Ar. *Birds* 1022, *ἐπίσκοπος ἦκω δεῦρο τῷ κνάμω λαχῶν*, and *Misoumenos* 168 *ἀγαθὸν ἔκουσι ἦκεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. Slaves could be held responsible for money and valuables in their charge, and threatened in various ways if thought fraudulent: *τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς εὐρεθήσεται* (says Smikrines at *Aspis* 154 f.) *ἔως ἂν οἱ φέροντες ὄσω οἰκέται*; Sostratos' girl thinks it is the mark of a free man to be free with money, 95 f. below.

25–9 Having treated the opening of the speech with freedom, and with a different idea of the role of the actor, Plautus now picks up the essential decision, with its proverbial expression of telling a tale to a corpse, thus (with some help from Menander's repetitions from the speech at 91 ff.) making a reconstruction possible.

27 *πιθανομένη*, cf. 93, 'using her skills of persuasion': a little like *παθαινομένη*, *Epitr.* 769/1127, and first found here (as *παθαινομένη* first in *Epitr.*), then Artemiodorus, *Oneirocritica* 2. 32—not untypically, see on *Dysk.* 829–31. In a good note, Sandbach calls attention to *πιθανή* as an epithet of hetairai in the erotic epigram, as in Asclepiades, *HE* 824 ff. = *AP* 5. 158; as he says of *πιθανώτερος*, *Perik.* 422/1000, a sense something like that of 'attractive' develops: Plautus offers *subblanditur*.

29 *νεκρῶ λέγουσα μῦθον*, a proverb known in several forms from the *Paroemiographi Graeci* and other collectors of such material, as *νεκρῶ λέγων μῦθους εἰς οὐκ*, Diogenianus VI. 82 (more in *MP* 20 n. 9); it has a life in Latin Comedy attested by Plautus, *Poen.* 840, *uerba facit emortuo*, and Terence, *Phormio* 1015, *uerba fiunt mortuo*; somewhere in the background is A. *Cho.* 926, *ἔοικα θρηγῶν ζῶσα πρὸς τύμβον μάτην*, if not also Ar. *Frogs* 1175 f., *τεθηγκόσω γὰρ ἔλεγεν, ὦ μόχθηρε σύ | οἷς οὐδὲ τρίς λέγοντες ἐξικνούμεθα*.

30 f. *ἐκείνον* was originally taken, and generally still is taken, to refer to Sostratos' father, Nicobulus in Plautus, and here to be called B; but Sostratos may have been deciding to tackle his friend first, when, by coincidence, the father arrives and the priorities are altered. It does not help that the beginning of the line is lost: *ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνον* (Austin) is a plainer and probably safer possibility than my original *χωρεῖν ἐπ'*; *προκαλεῖσθ'* would probably be too long, and *ζητεῖν* too short. The final iota marked with diaeresis is a useful pointer towards *τ[ο]υτοῦ*; but if *τὸν πατέρα* is to follow at the beginning of 31, the immediate sequel is less than obvious.

31–48 is all but lost; and the encounter between father and son which begins here and runs swiftly to the end of the Act has been cut by Plautus together with its resumption at the beginning of the following Act at 64 ff. B has so far been taken in by the story which the slave Syros concocted to account for the lack of a delivery of gold, as developed at some length by Plautus at *Bacchides* 235–367: evidently here and in what follows the salient points were recalled in order to be contradicted, but the few words that can be unambiguously identified do not serve to show how Menander introduced the matter.

41 *τᾶ]μαντοῦ* or (for metrical reasons), *ἐ]μαντοῦ* preceded by a short monosyllable in metrical liaison with it, such as *ἀπ'*; similarly in 35, one could think metrically of *κᾶ]δωκεν* with the first syllable long in crasis, or *ἀπ]ε]δωκεν*, *δς' ε]δωκεν* or the like.

48 *τὸν τόκον* does not make it clear what separate role the interest played in B's business arrangements. The point of the detail, apart from the need to refute the slave's earlier fiction, may have been to show that the old man's concern for the welfare of his money was strong enough to generate some goodwill in regard to the present news of successful investment, and hence to turn aside some of his anger at the deception.

49 f. Not *Πόσειδον*, since *c* does not suit, but probably *-ν εἶδον*, of something Sostratos claimed to have witnessed; what came next may have been 'if you have suffered no wrong, do not accuse ... etc.', *μηδὲ ἐν | [ἄδικον π]αθ[ῶν, μηδ' ἐγκάλει*. The *ξένος* is called Archidemides in Plautus (*Ba.* 250, 257 al.), perhaps an invention calculated to allow a word-play on the name (*-dem-/dempturum*, 284 f.), like Chrysalus for the rather ordinary slave name Syros (*MP* 8 f., with nn. 4 and 5); it is perhaps possible (though I do not think likely) that his name in Menander was given as Meikros, which has intruded for no obvious reason into the text.

51–2 The beginnings are uncertain, not least because it is unclear who spoke them; the end of 51 is certainly Sostratos, and the end of 52 certainly B. For the conjectured *δca*, see LSJ *δcos*, IV.1: B wants the gold, his capital, obsessively, never mind anything else that came with it, as the rest of the dialogue makes plain.

53 The *κενὸς λόγος* is the narrative referred to above on 31–48.

54 Part-division after Silvia Rizzo, *Riv. di Filologia* 109 (1981) 34–5; while we do not know how Menander led up to this exchange, it seems to make compellingly good sense and give superior dramatic economy if it is the father who recalls the details of the false story and the son who contradicts them. So also the powers of Syros as a liar are underlined: see 84–7. Double points at the end of 53 and after *επεβούλευς* are lacking,

more likely omitted than lost by abrasion; paragraphoi are lost with the beginnings of the lines. οὐδεις, by comparison with the neighbouring supplements, has a slight advantage of length over οὐ γὰρ (Arnott). παρορμήσει, I take it, as do Arnott and Rizzo, comes from παρορμέω, and refers back to the fictional tale of a pirate ship, is lembus nostrae nauis ... insidias dabat (Ba. 286); Sandbach interprets as 'instigated' from παρορμάω.

55 f. Θεότιμον, cf. Bacchides 306 ff., where he is represented as being custodian of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, his name mentioned no less than seven times there and in the dialogue following: for more references and discussion, see Questa ad loc. and Zwierlein, Kritik IV. 229 ff.; the quoted fragment 112 KT, 5 Sandbach/Arnott is attributed to the corresponding context in Menander.

56-7 Sandbach suggests τί "πρός Θεότιμον"; instead of the straight denial. The ξένος kept the money he had received in his own care, 'and the yield of income is doubled', if that is the right reconstruction. διαφορέω in the sense 'to bear double' (I suppose it might be said either of the gold itself or of its manager) is quoted by LSJ only from Theophrastus, CP 1. 14. 1, though the corresponding adjective διάφορος appears in Comedy as well as being recorded as a botanical term; for πρὸς in financial contexts, see LSJ s.v. III.4.

57 f. χρηστὸς σφόδρα (better than -τόν or -τώς) picks up from 50, and is acceptable, like ἱκανὸς οὐτός (15) as a crisp comment from an old man in a hurry.

59 ἐατέον (or anything else that can be imagined instead) brings a very abrupt dismissal, perhaps not unnatural-sounding with the all-important consideration of the gold to come; but it should be remembered that Menander is sometimes abrupt when he has extracted what he needs from a situation and wants the action to move: see on Dysk. 841. It is not clear where Sostratos invites his father to go to get the gold, and this is not a matter in which Plautus is any help, since he has eliminated the act-break in which the handover notionally took place.

60-1 παίζεις can be read interrogatively or not, and οὐκ οὐν ἀκολουθῶ; can be preferred (or not) to οὐκοῦν ἀκολουθῶ on grounds that are hardly more than subjective.

63 ἐμοὶ ... προδργαίτερον concludes the act with a keynote remark by B; it will be picked up, with other words and motifs from the act-ending, at the beginning of the act to follow. 'It is important,' says Sandbach in the Commentary, 'that the old man, who is to be cheated in the sequel, should be unsympathetically portrayed'; that seems to me a better notion than that of ascribing the line to Sostratos, as is done in OCT², for reasons given in the paper quoted on 14 f above.

Col. iii

	#		
	<u>XO</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>OY</u>
1			
2	[.] [.] . c . . [.] . . [.] . . παρα [.] υξενου [.] . . [
3	[.] [.] . αν . . υ . . [.] ητο γεγ νεσοι: . . ο . εγαρ[	65	
4	[.] [.] λον[.] . . ευφ . . νε . . : μ [.] λονωστ . ατε .		
5	. . . . . στ[.] . . τ[.] . . [.] . . [.] . . α . ρα[.] . [.] διδ . . [.] μο . [
6	[.] νη . . τον τ' . . [5 ±] μ . . ον .		
7	[.] [.] . [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . κουδεν . [7 ±] μ [.] . . [
8	δ . . [.] . . [.] . . κ . . [.] . . [.] . . ε . [5 ±] μενος	70	
9	τ . . [.] . . [.] . . υφ [.] . . [.] . . ημ . . [5 ±] νε[
10	ε . ξ [.] . [.] . εια [.] . π . ου . [5 ±] . . δ [.] . . [.] . . [
11	α . [.] . . [.] . . εκειν [.] . κε . . [.] . . [.] . . [5 ±] . ι . α . [.] . . [
12	. . . [13 ±] . [11 ±] ο [.] . . [
13	. . λ [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . χαυτ [.] μ [	75	
14	. . θε [.] . . [.] . . τυχ [.] . . [.] . . τ [.] . . δ' . . [.] . . [
15	. . θε . αδ [.] . [.] . . ετ . υρ [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . [

	X O P O Y	
1		
2	ϞΩ. τ[ι φ]ή<ι>ς; τὸ [χρ]υς[ί]ον παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ ξένου λ[αβ]ῶν	
3	[ε]! [c] πάντ' ἀνέγ[κλ]ητος γέγονέ σοι; (B) γέγογε γάρ.	65
4	(CΩ.) [μ]ᾶ[λ]λόν [θ' ᾶ]μ' εὐφραίνει σε; (B) μᾶ[λ]λον, Cώστρατε,	
5		
6	τὸν κάκιςτ' ἀπ[ολού]μενον	
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		

16 οὐτω αθω[] ωνπεπ[.] ε...[
 17]... νταγα[]... τ'α... [3-4] αν...[
 18]... κατ[]ρατ[.] σε[3-4]εμου 80
 19 ε... θυ... αρ[]... υ... τ[.]ν... [τινα
 20 υ[.] χειριον []μηνλαβων[
 21]... [.]ιπαπ[ις] ε... ε... [] αλ... []
 22]... [.]υροστον λιο... [.] ο[.] ονί
 23]... νπα[.] στ... σεξ... [.] φασκοικοτ... 85
 24 νομι αιμ'ανει αι'ν... αγε ονεναιγ'ης
 25]κ[.]... [.] τοσ: υκουν στ... ου... [.] πατερ
 26]θ... ν ποτ υξει ουπ... ρ... []κυρη... το... ων
 27]... [.]πα[.]... [.] μοι:τα [.] πε... μπρος γοραν
 28]... αττ[.]... τιπρατεις [.] λοδεδοταιτουτόσ... 90
 29 ^{ωστρ} [.]... [.] κωμ[.]... ηγκαληντεκαγαθην
 30]... εινερωμενηναν [.]ω... κενος
 31 πι ανενομένην καιπρο... οκωσαναυτ[.]...
 32]... σινδεναυτηπανοκ μ... ζω[ν]χυρσι ν
 33]... νναρκομιζειτου[.]... αι ητουςθεουσ 95
 34]... ευθεριωστ [.] αλλοναξι[.]στ'εμου
 35]... τηδι[.]ν[.] αλωσπορ [.]... [.] ευρεθη
 36 δ[.] αποτ' [.] νουσα... τονδ'αβελτερον
 37 μ... χονε... ε... κα... ταμενεγαγ'οργιζ... μαι
 38 ταδ'ουκεκ... ντουγεγονοτοςαιτιον 100
 39 αδ... κηματοσνενομικατηνδ'ιταμωτατην
 40]... πασωνεκεινην:ειτακουσασενθαδε
 41]... ειναιμε... πουγησεστι... χαιρεσωστρατε:
 42]... καικυτικατ... φησκαισκυθρωποσειπεμοι
 43]... καιβλεμ... ατουθ'υποδακρ... μηνεωτερον 105
 44]... ονκ... ειληφαστιτων[.] νταυθα:ναι:
 45]... ειτ[.]ου[.] γει... ενδονγαγαμελειμοσχε:πως:
 46]... [6-7] φιλοντατονπροτυχ... ν... ν
 47]... [7-8] α... τουτοπρωτονωνε... ω[
 48]... []... δικηκας:ηδικη... αδε 110
 49]... ωσεμηγενοιτοτουτοςωστρατε:
 50]... ουκηξιουνγονν... ουδεγω:λεγε... δετι:
 51]... το... ρωτατααλλ... ιαμ'αγ[

16 οὕτως ἀθῶ[ος γέγονε] τῶν πεπ[οη]μένων
 17
 18
 19 ἐπιθυμίαν[
 20 ὑ[π]οχείριον [(?B) ἀλλὰ] μὴν λαβῶν,
 21 ὅπερ [ε]ἶπα, μὴ πίστευε [(?CΩ) ...
 22 (B) ἦ [γ]ὰ [ρ C] ὕρος τὸν ἡλιόν μ[οι] το[υ]τονὶ
 23 εἶ νῦν πα[ρ]αστὰς ἐξέχ[ει]ν φάσκοι, σκότον 85
 24 νομίζαμ' ἂν εἶναι, νύκτα γεγονέναι γόης
 25 ἀκ[ό]λ[α]τος. (CΩ) οἴκουν ἔστι τοῦτό μ[οι], πάτερ,
 26 'οὐθὲν ἀποτεύξει τοῦ πατρὸς [c] εὐχρηστὸς ὦν';
 27 ἀλλ[ὰ] πα[ρ]άθ[ε]ς μοι. (B) ταῦτ' ἄπειμι πρὸς ἀγοράν
 28 πρ[ό]αττ[ων]· ὅτι πράττης ἄλλο δέδοται τοῦτό σοι. 90
 29 CΩ. κα]ἱ μ[ὴ]ν δοκῶ μ[οι] τὴν καλὴν τε κάγαθην
 30 ἰδεῖν ἐρωμένην ἂν ἡδ[έ]ως, κενὸς
 31 πιθανευομένην καὶ προσδοκῶσαν αὐτ[ί]κα-
 32 φησὶν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ—πᾶν δ' κομίζω χρυσίον.
 33 πάνν γάρ· κομίζει τοῦ[το] καί, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, 95
 34 [ἐλ]ευθερίως—τί[ς] μᾶλλον;—ἄξι[ω]ς τ' ἐμοῦ.
 35 ἀ[ῦ]τη δ' ἰ[κα]ν[ώ]ς, καλῶς ποοῦ[ς] ἄ [γ']], εὐρέθη
 36 ο[ῦ]α<ν> ποτ' ὤ<ι>[μ]ην οὔσα· τὸν δ' ἀβέλτερον
 37 Μόσχον ἐλεῶ· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔγωγ' ὀργίζομαι
 38 τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐκείνων τοῦ γεγονότος αἰτιον 100
 39 ἀδικήματος νενομίκα, τὴν δ' ἰταμωτάτην
 40 πασῶν ἐκείνην. ΜΟ. εἶτ' ἀκούσας ἐνθάδε
 41 εἶναι με, ποῦ γῆς ἔστι; χαιρε, Cώστρατε.
 42 CΩ. καὶ σύ. <ΜΟ.> τί κατηφῆς καὶ σκυθρωπός, εἶπέ μοι,
 43 καὶ βλέμμα τοῦθ' ὑπόδακρυ; μὴ νεώτερον 105
 44 κακὸν κατείληφάς τι τῶν [γ'] ἐνταῦθα; (CΩ) ναί.
 45 (ΜΟ.) εἶτ' οὐ [λ]έγεις; (CΩ) ἔνδον γὰρ ἀμέλει, Μόσχε. (ΜΟ.) πῶς;
 46 (CΩ) τὸν μ' ἐκτόπως φιλοῦντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον
 47]... []... τα· τοῦτο πρῶτον ὦν ἐρῶ·
 48 δεινότητά μ' ἠδίκηκας. (ΜΟ.) ἠδίκηκα δὲ 110
 49 ἐγώ σε; μὴ γένοιτο τοῦτο, Cώστρατε.
 50 (CΩ) οὐκ ἠξίου γοῶν οὐδ' ἐγώ. (ΜΟ.) λέγεις δὲ τί;
 51 (CΩ) ἐμὲ γάρ, τὸν ἔρωτα· τᾶλλα δ' ἦνία μ' ἄγ[αν].

Col. iii. 51 lines, counting the *XOPOY* at the head of the page, and so numbered on the left, as for Cols i-ii, with the continuous numbering to the right. That assumes that the complex of fragments at the right of 13 ff. is correctly aligned. Remains of script and fibres on both sides appear consistent with this arrangement, and do not suggest an alternative; but it must be offered with the reservations that the condition of the fragments imposes.

In 1-12 the surface is much abraded, leaving both blank spaces and traces of ink that are hard to articulate into individual letters or groups of letters. In 13-28, the constituent fragments were found crumpled and warped in ways that cannot now be fully corrected (they owe their present condition to treatment of extraordinary skill and care). The transcription, made in the first instance with the aid of squared paper, is therefore in the nature of a projection, for which the vertical fibres provide guidelines; and there is in this situation an additional hazard for reading and restoration.

2/64 Trace of ink in the right margin, as of a nota personae, compatible with [Cωστ]ρ, but hardly a confirmation of that. Before *c*, heavily written, a thick upright; in mid-line,] [offers a heavy diagonal for *v* or *χ* and part of a heavily written curve (whence possibly]υς[for χρ]υς[ε]ορν), the last two, typically of the problems of this area, being no more than specks; then from παρα onwards the writing is normal. After ξενου, foot of diagonal as for *a* or *λ*, faint diagonal next; but λαβων or -ειν has none but the weakest support

3/65 In second place, trace of an upright; in fourth, two uprights, as of *μ*, *ν*, *π*; αν could be read as εν, but otherwise παντ suits; next, άνεγ[κλ]ητος fits better than άνεπ[κλ]ητος (there is a horizontal for *γ* or *π*; the last is more like *c* than *v*); the dicolon read after *coi* is over a break, and could be part of a letter if γέγονε were not divined as next word

4/66 Second is down-sloping diagonal;] [.], trace as of the latter half of *μ* (wrong shape for top of *δ*), then perhaps diastole; if] [μ', then better θ' before it than δ'. Sloping upright and part of mid-line horizontal give *ε* before υφ. If εὐφραίνει *ce*, as the beginning and end of the sequence of letters suggest, ραι is almost wholly abraded; at the end, single rather than double point

5/67 . . . ετ, all unclear. First are high horizontal and vertical, as for *τ*, or (if together) *π*; I have considered, *inter alia*, both τικεστ[and παντ[ων.]το[might be]υς[(EGT), then at] [, forward-sloping vertical with ink over, possibly *v* or ε]ι[(cf. ii. 9). At] [. ρα, possibly]πατρερα[; if so, *τ* has lost left cross-stroke and *ε* survives as end of mid-line horizontal. End: perhaps διδορα[, rather than -ορς[or -ωρς[; but with]μορ[or]μοι[; to choose from, the articulation is still in doubt

6/68 -νῆρα, aor. passive infin. suggests itself, given the apparent circumflex accent, as in μανῆραι, φανῆραι (or a compound); the beginning is too damaged to be useful; the end, after τον, offers κாக rather than μαλ, and hence τὸν κάκις? ἀπολούμενον as a guess reconcilable with what little is left

7-15 = 69-77 Apart from a scatter of identifiable letters, the traces of ink in this area that have survived physical damage are generally so ambiguous as to make attempts at description in supplement to the transcript for the most part uninformative, it not actually misleading. Some points are noted below that may perhaps lead to useful conjectures or to the recognition of overlapping texts

7/69]c οὐδὲ νῆ[ν, or]c οὐδὲν. [, or]c οὐδὲ δὲ ν. [and so on

8/70 δηλο[(? δηλω[]) suits

9/71 In mid-line,]εμ[,]ενν[,]την[. Before ημ, long descender with speck of high ink, after it traces suit ετ, εγ, as for ε]φ' ἡμετε[ερ-,]φῆμ' ἐγ[ώ vel sim.

10/72]εια. [, last perhaps ε (-]είας, ε]τίας[ε vel sim.); at] [. ου, horizontal joins *o*, i.e. ἀπὸ τοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ possible; then foot of diagonal, as λ; at] [. δ[, curve on line, down-sloping curved diagonal, e.g.]θαδ[,]μαδ[

11/73 αν[, αδ[;]κε[or]χθ[, but ε]χθρρ- would be a tight fit after ἐκείν[ος or -ον; at the end,]ρζα. [EGT, perhaps]μζαζ. [

13/75 e.g. πο]λλ[- the triangular letter taken as the first lambda (the second is simply a foot) is assumed to be third in the line by projection from the lines that follow; the fragment which gives it is now displaced to the right by some 20 mm; the line-endings, here and in the next verses, are also now displaced high by about 10 mm relatively to their beginnings, as is most clearly recognized from 16. At the end, e.g. τὰ]χ' ἄν τ[ί] μο[ι (or μο[ν or μ[ε]), but the whole situation, including the precise alignment of the join, is unclear.

14/76 Possibly μ]ηθέρ with nothing lost, rather than ο]ῖθέρ, the second, an upright with high joining horizontal, being more like part of *η* than of *v*. Top of a round letter before τυχ[, and δυ]στυχ[ε]ς[τα]τ[οc], though not verifiable, could be accommodated

15/77 ο]ῖθέρ ἀδ[ε]κ[(-ον, -ών, -ήσας) is tempting, and may have been anticipated above in μ]ηθέρ [ἀδικήσας vel sim. The first two letters took slightly less space than those of 14, and the narrow, abraded

space between *ad* and the foot of a vertical could just take iota; otherwise ἀδε[, with wider spacing, is possible. In mid-line, -ετω (?-ετω; hardly -ται) suggests a verb-ending, and -υρ- suggests *ζύρο*[c rather than (say) *δερο*, which would be hard to fit in

16/78 οὔτως or οὔτω γ' (not οὔτω δ') is probably to be recognized as first word in the line; if λαθ-, μαθ-, παθ-, or one of the other possible collocations, one would expect to see more ink. The gap between αθω[and the following] ωνπεπ[is not immediately calculable with the fragments displaced as they are, but may be reckoned as three metrical elements, and as 8-9 letters rather than 6-7: that is to say ἀθώ[(ι)ος γέγονε] has the advantage over such theoretical possibilities as ἀ. ἐστι, or ἀθῶον ὄντα, just as, for reasons of space, τῶν πεπ[οη]μένων is to be preferred to τῶν πεπραγμένων

17/79 The fibres are displaced, and the best I can offer is] [.]εντα-, the first a mere speck over what looks like the end of a paragraphos, then at] [part of a curved foot, followed by the detached foot of *v*: not (e.g.) ἄπαντα

18/80 The end would accommodate a middle infinitive (e.g. *Cώστ]ρατ' [ο]ῖςε[θαί γ]έ μου*), but without more data speculation seems otiose

19-21 = 81-4 Some recognizable words emerge: 19 ἐπιθυμίαν, 20 ὑποχείριον and λαβών, as well as 21 πικτενε are free from reasonable doubt; but the end of 19 and the structure of the whole remain unclear; for 22-24, more Greek survives, and there is help towards interpretation from Plautus

19/81] [. υ rather than right half of η; trace of a letter joining τ (which is on a strip a little deflected to the left): i.e. a word containing -υστ- may be thought of (such as ἄ]παυστ[ο]ν, which would fit) rather than ἦττ[ο]ν or its like; after it ἄν (or two other broad letters) would fill the space before τῶνα, but little can be seen clearly

20/82 Part of a downward oblique before]μην is most likely a detached part of the *μ* and not part of the letter before it

21/83 Trace of left end of a paragraphos. At the beginning,] [, high loop suits *ρ*, otherwise only specks; the μη above the line looks like the copyist's own correction of an omission, as at ii. 12. After the (apparent) μη πικτενε, an upright (no trace of horizontal) with more ink above and to right (?interlinear: if so, possibly C[ωστρ], but no dicolon to be seen); after the gap, two diverging diagonals for κ (or damaged β): καλωκ- could be read (for (?-καλέω + κ- or what?); less likely καλων, καλωζ

22/84] [.] [, first an upright, then after the gap two specks which might be almost anything; the *μ* of the presumed μ[οι] is just a trace; the rest, apart from the line-beginning, is recognizable: see the articulated version

23-4 = 85-6 ννν looks likely; in the presumed ξέχ[ε]ν, there is a mid-line horizontal for *ε*, descending diagonal (and foot below it?) for *χ*, and a vertical for *v*; warping has closed the crack where *ε* is expected, and in 24 the κτ of νύκτα, though traces remain, are affected by this

25/87 κ is damaged, but not to be read as ιδ; at] [.], a low speck; ε (to suit ἀ]κ[ό]λ[α]ς[τοc] or *v* (as if οὔτοc) before -τοc. Low rising curve at] [.] suits μ[οι]

26/88 If α]κ- above, πό]θεν or μη]θέρ (say) might have a slight (probably negligible) advantage in space over such other possibilities as ρη]θέρ or οὔ]θέρ, of which the last seems to suit the sense best. There is some distortion, but the *c* of the presumed πατρός[ε] was most likely written and not lost by haplography, as in the first copying of ii. 12

27/89] [.] [,]λλ[rather than]μ[; a high horizontal with traces of uprights, and a triangular letter should represent]πα[rather than]τιδ[; before μοι, on twisted fibres, apparent traces of two round letters: from the space (if either is to be thought of) πα]ράθ[ε]ς rather than πα]ράδ[ε]ς

29/91] [.], traces of ink shared between joined fragments, first may be remains of vertical, second suits first stroke of *μ*

30/92 First, a descender; second, traces of horizontal ink on the line. At mid-line, ἦδ[ε]ωζ was diagnosed by Sandbach and Lloyd-Jones (quoted in *MP*) and φδ' [ι]ών (or ζών) by Colin Austin; damage and warping combine to make the choice hard. Two low specks of ink for feet η or bottom of ω; triangle for right-hand [sic] corner of δ; a minute low particle of ink (if not random) for the next, then diagonal of *v*, or (as I slightly prefer) top of *c*; then, on loose fibre, high point

31/93 Last but one is a shallow sloping downstroke: i.e. ἀστ[ε]κα suits, not ἀτόθεν

32/94 Trace of an upright before *c*; before that amidst abrasion, remains of a triangle or flattened curve, acceptable as left half of φ, but the upright has totally gone. ρ on broken surface, but *v* (i.e. πάνυ) is excluded;]ν], deletion by a rising diagonal stroke

33/95 First, two low dots of ink, as for π ; then foot of downsloping diagonal for α

34/96 τ , [, high horizontal joins tall vertical, i.e. τ

35/97 An angular breathing probably accounts for all the ink, there being in that case no trace of the base of the first letter of 34, and nothing, unless the odd particle of ink, for the alpha presumed to have stood here. At [.] [.] $\epsilon\nu\rho\epsilon\theta\eta$, part of down-sloping diagonal leaves room only for a narrow letter before ϵ : i.e. $\pi\sigma\upsilon$ [c] $a[\gamma]$, and perhaps even a trace of a horizontal joining ϵ ; not $\pi\sigma\upsilon\epsilon$ $\delta[\nu]$ -

36/98 Angular breathing over small σ , rather than any trace from 35; downsloping stroke as for α before $\pi\sigma\tau$; then right-angled foot of letter, ω rather than ϵ , and upright after the gap; a join intervenes, but $\omega[\mu]\eta\nu$ seems likelier than $\omega[\mu]\eta\nu$

37/99 ϵ , ϵ , : $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega$ JRR, quoted in *MP*; the second is abraded, leaving traces that look (deceptively) like parts of upright and horizontal, then a join before ϵ , and confused ink that once suggested to me ν , or even parts of two letters: i.e. $\epsilon\langle\lambda a\rangle\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\langle\lambda a\rangle\beta\epsilon\nu$?

44/106 $\kappa\alpha\kappa$ suits the first three; and a high horizontal joining $\epsilon\lambda$ - verifies $\kappa\alpha\tau$ -. The fibres are displaced after $\tau\omega\nu$, but I see no cause to doubt that there was room for another letter before $\epsilon\nu\tau$ -, as Sandbach (OCT) is inclined to do

45/107 $\epsilon\iota\tau$ or $\epsilon\iota\pi$, at the junction of two fragments; beyond it, the vertical fibres run askew to the right and back again, apparently a minor fault in manufacture, which will have left horizontal fibres exposed for a small space, on which nothing seems to have been written. [$\lambda\epsilon$] $\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ Sandbach (quoted in *MP*); I had thought of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, which involves allowing for an omission; there is a trace of a high horizontal for γ , and I now recognize some indefinite sign of the base of the letter before it

46/108 $\tau\sigma\mu$ is acceptable, with traces of a small curve for σ , of feet of uprights for ν , and low shallow curve for μ ; part of a sloping upright follows beyond the join of fragments, looking more like a trace of the next letter than the final stroke of μ . After that, the surface is almost totally abraded, and nothing can be verified

47/109 A high horizontal joins α , as for $-\gamma\alpha$, $-ca$, $-\tau\alpha$; perhaps $-\kappa\alpha$. Indeterminate traces of four letters at the beginning, and occasional flecks of ink after that, where a blank of 7-8 letters is shown. Last is very likely small omega; before it, traces of upright and small loop for rho; not (I now believe) $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\mu[\epsilon$ (ϵ . . . was printed in *MP*; $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ has become the vulgate)

48/110 $\delta[\epsilon\iota$ - can be divined from the traces, and $\delta\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ μ ' $\eta\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ would fit the space without inconsistency with what flecks of ink there are, but with no dependable claim to support from them

51/111 Second offers curved uprights with trace of joining stroke as for μ or π ; third, in a crack on horizontal fibres, has parts of curve and mid-line horizontal, as if ϵ or θ ; next two may be trace of high horizontal and top of a triangular letter; then upright and part of high bow: perhaps therefore $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho$. The two letters after $\tau\sigma$ are abraded to specks. Towards the end, a series of triangular letters resolves itself as $\tau\alpha\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\delta$?; after that, room for two broad letters: in it only confused traces, on torn and twisted fibres, of three (or four?) uprights: $\eta\nu$ or anything comparable

83-7: cf. P. Ba. 698-700. Mnesilochus/Sostratos with Chrysalus/Syros:

698 MN. immo si audias quae dicta dixit me aduersum tibi.

699 CH. quid dixit? MN. si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceres,

700 se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies.

91-113 corresponds to P. Ba. 526-562, Mnesilochus/Sostratos with Pistoclerus/Moschos: in particular

(a) 91-4 to Ba. 530-1; (b) 102-8 to Ba. 528 f. with 536-39, and (c) 109-13 to Ba. 559-62

(a) 91-4: P. Ba. 530-1

530 MN. reddidi patri omne aurum. nunc ego illum me uelim

531 conuenire, postquam inanis sum, contemptricem meam.

530 reddidit (ut uid.) A

(b) 102-8: P. Ba. 528 f. with 536-39

528 PI. nam illud animus meu' miratur, si a me tetigit nuntius,

529 quid remoretur.

528 nunc illud A a me P, iam A

536 PI. saluus sis, Mnesiloche. MN. salue. PI. ...
538 numquae aduenienti aegritudo obiectast? MN. atque acerruma.
539 unde? MN. ab homine quem mihi amicum esse arbitratus sum antidhac.
538 acerrume P

(c) 109-13: P. Ba. 559-62

559 MN. uideo non potesse quin tibi eiius nomen eloquar.

560 Pistoclere, perdidisti me sodalem funditus.

561 PI. quid istuc est? MN. quid est? misine ego ad te ex Epheso epistulam

562 super amica, ut mihi inuenires?

CHORUS

(iii. 2-4 = 64-66)

Sostr. What's that you say? By getting the gold from your foreign friend he is wholly blameless in your eyes?

(B) He is indeed.

Sostr. And he pleases you more, too?

(B) More, Sostratos ...

(iii. 6 = 68) ... the rogue ... (ii. 16 = 78) ... so he is not guilty of what's been done ... (iii. 19 = 81) ... desire ...

(iii. 20ff. = 82ff.)

Sostr. [brought] under control.

(B) [Yet even] if you do that, don't trust him, as I say ... For sure, if Syros were standing by me and said the sun was shining here, I'd think it was dark (85 f.), that night had come—an incorrigible trickster.

Sostr. So I can depend on this, then, father 'As a good son, your father won't deny you'?—but just deliver!

(B) I'm off to the market to do this business of mine; this other business is yours to do (90).

Sostr. I really do think I could be glad to see my fine lady of a lover being persuasive now I'm empty-handed—and expecting at once (so she tells herself) all the gold that I'm bringing. Very much so: 'He's bringing it like a gentleman, on my oath (95), and just as I deserve'. But she was found out clearly enough—and well done too—as being the sort I used to think she was. The feeble Moschos has my sympathy. On the one hand, I am angry; but on the other I don't consider him responsible for the wrong that's been done (100 f.), but her, most unscrupulous of women that she is.

Moschos So he's heard I'm here: where on earth is he? Sostratos!—good day to you.

Sostr. And to you.

Moschos But tell me, why are you so downcast and scowling, with that look of being near to tears? You haven't come on some new example of our local troubles, have you (105 f.)?

Sostr. Yes, indeed: trouble indoors, Moschos.

Moschos How so?

Sostr. My [extraordinarily good] friend of times past [is deceiving me (?)]. The first thing I'll say is this: you have wronged me most terribly.

Moschos I? Wronged you? Never let it be, Sostratos (110 f.).

Sostr. I wouldn't have expected it myself.

Moschos But what is it you mean?

Sostr. Me and my love; and the rest of it is something that grieved me to excess.

64-90 Re-enter Sostratos and his father (B); the poor condition of the remains means that very little can be made out except at the beginning and the end of the scene, but perhaps enough to make it clear that there was further discussion of the slave Syros and the false tale he had spun about the gold. Sostratos pleaded successfully (just how, we cannot follow) that Syros should be left to him to deal with, and not punished. Plautus, who had earlier made the young man's gratitude to the slave a main motif (*Ba.* 385-404), at this point has him refer prominently to this transaction with his father, which, with the cutting of the two short scenes in question, took place notionally during a quick exit and return that is covered by a few lines of entrance monologue by the other young man (526-29, based in part on 102 f.): so 521-5, *exorabo* ... etc., is picked up at 532 f. *sed ueniam mihi quam grauate pater dedit de Chrysalis! uerum postremo impetraui ut ne quid ei suscenseat.*

Menander's technique of echoing the end of one Act in the beginning of the next has been extensively discussed since *Dyskolos*, *Misoumenos*, *Dis Exapaton* and other discoveries from 1959 into the 1960's and up to the present have added to the stock of examples: for basics, see *MP* 12 and n. 8; *Entr. Hardt* xvi (1970) 10–18; and *Relire Ménandre* 34–6 (H.-D. Blume) and 132 f., with some further references, especially to Alain Blanchard's full study in his *Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre* (Paris, 1983). Here there are two sets of echoes, first with father and son resuming their talk, and then from 91 onwards, with Sostratos' short soliloquy picking up from his speech at 25 ff.

64 *τί φής*; is a regular opening remark when two characters enter in conversation, and is used sometimes when they are supposed to have been coming from some way off, as at *Dysk.* 50 (and note the variant *εἰπέ μοι* at 233); but that need not be so, as is shown by *Dysk.* 563, in a dialogue between characters both present on stage. The key to the content is the relatively undamaged *παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ ξένου*; the rest is guesswork.

65 *ἀνέγκλητος* 'guiltless', if rightly read, is new to Menander; *ἀνεπίκλητος* in a similar sense appears at *Ephr.* 590/910, but does not seem to have been written here.

66 For *εὐφραίνει* one can compare PDidot I. 22 f., *καὶ ποῦ τοσαῦτα χρήματ' ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ, | ἂ μάλλον ἀνδρὸς εὐφρανεῖ παρόντα με;*

67–8 It is possible, as above, to stitch the remains into some sort of comic verse, but the ambiguities present discourage one from thinking that the exercise is very useful. *τὸν κάκιςτ' ἀπολούμενον* (variant *τὸν κακῶς ἀπολούμενον*, Ar. *Ach.* 952) is a perennial term of abuse against slaves or others thought to be inferior: e.g. *Ephr.* 52/228; *Dysk.* 208, addressing Poverty as a horrid old woman.

78 *ἀθῶος*, *Dysk.* 645; if it is accepted here, the line would seem to echo 65, *ἀνέγκλητος*, and so perhaps round off the first stage of the discussion; if B is not to punish Syros himself, it seems he will be put in the charge of Sostratos (? *ὑποχείριον*, 82), but with a colourful caution against trusting him.

82 f. Traces of paragraphoi indicate changes of speaker in or at the end of these lines, or both; but it is not clear from the text that survives where they came. B must at least say *μὴ πιστεύε* in 83 and resume with 84 ff. after an interjection of some kind by Sostratos; 82 can either be given wholly to Sostratos, with *ὑποχείριον λαβῶν* together, and *-μην* possibly a verb ending; or else it can be divided between the two, and *ὑποχείριον* understood with *λαβῶν*.

84–6 B's flight of phrase on the topic of Syros' falsehoods is lost from the present context of *Bacchides* with the rest of Plautus' cuts, but reappears later on when quoted to the slave by his young master (see above). We cannot be sure whether this is the result of transference by Plautus or repetition by Menander (*MP* 15 f.); but the echo at *Perinthia* 13–15 of words from an earlier scene in the play represented by fr. 1 (3 Sandbach) at least shows that there is no objection in principle to the idea that Menander recalled the lines in a later context of *Dis Exapaton*. For *ἦ γάρ*, see Denniston, *Particles*² 284.

86 f. *γόης ἀκόλαστος*, here taken together as 'an incorrigible trickster'; but could possibly be read as two separate epithets, as could *ἄλεθρον ἄργόν*, 'an idle pest', at *Dysk.* 366. Plato, *Smp.* 203d has *δεινὸς γόης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστῆς* of Eros; Demosthenes, *de Cor.* (18). 276 similarly *δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων*; the text given as *Com. Adesp.* 1307K (cf. *PCG* VIII, at p. 515) adds a little more colour to the common term of abuse with *γόης τις ἢ Κέρκωψ λόγων*.

87 f. *οὐκ οὖν* is here taken to introduce a challenging question; but see on 61 above. Sostratos claims to have on his side the notion that a fond father will deny a good son nothing. It is not obvious whether this is presented as a piece of proverbial wisdom or is a real or pretended quotation from B. Kallippides in *Dyskolos* claims to have met his son's every wish (*τί δέ | οὐ σνγκεχώρηχ'*; 785 f.); more to the point, perhaps, B's Plautine equivalent Nicobulus says in a later context that only his devotion to his son has kept him from punishing the slave very severely: *Ba.* 777 ff., *per omnis deos adiuro ut, ni meum | gnatum tam amem atque ei facta curiam quae is uelit | ut tua iam uirgis latera lacerentur probe*, etc. *οὐθὲν* admits alternatives, the likeliest (it may be) a question with *πόθεν*.

89–90 *παράθεσ*, for which I offer 'deliver', assumes *παρὰθῆμι* in the general sense of 'provide', LSJ, s.v., A. c. 2; but its familiar use in Comedy, as indeed elsewhere, is of serving food, and the restoration itself may not be right. The remark, and B's reply to it, both in any case allude to the part of the conversation that is lost to us. In *τοῦτ' ἄπειμι πρὸς ἀγορὰν | πράττων* B's business is presumably to pay over his recovered gold to a banker, or a creditor or whoever, and it would reinforce the point if he had it with him in a money bag whether carried by himself or by a slave; the *ἄλλο τοῦτο* which B says is given to Sostratos to do, is (I take it) to sort out Syros in some way short of the punishment B would have thought appropriate: see the preceding note. I doubt if the commission was 'to reprove his friend Moschos', as Sandbach says; but the argument is over a void. *πράττης* (subj.) is needed, not *-εις*.

91–102 Left alone, Sostratos is presented as turning back to the thoughts of his soliloquy at 18–30, but with the difference that the decision to give the gold to his father and not to the girl is now carried out. The link between the two speeches is underlined by verbal echoes (21, *λαμῆ* with *λαμωτάτην*, and *κενὸς | πῶθ' ἀνενομένην*, now in juxtaposition), as well as by the manner in which direct quotation is used to portray the girl as her lover sees her. As before, and even without such severe textual damage, the precise assignment of the words and/or thoughts is hard to determine with confidence.

91–2 *δοκῶ μοι ... ἠδέωσ* is well paralleled by Xenophon, *Oec.* 6. 11, *ταῦτ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἠδέωσ ἀκούειν σου*, and *Cyr.* 8. 7. 26, *ἠδέωσ ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι τιως* (Barigazzi, *Riv. di Fil.* 98 [1970] at p. 151; and note also *Aspis* 435); parallels in Comedy for the ironical use of *καλὸς κάγαθός* are given by Sandbach in his note on *Aspis* 311.

93–6 *φρὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ* seems to refer to what the girl says (or thinks) to herself; but it is not wholly clear what that is. Arnott takes the words on their own as a parenthesis, as given here, making the simplest and possibly the best assumption: her words then follow in 95 f. In *MP*, I had included *αὐτίκα* in the parenthesis; Sandbach writes—'*αὐτίκα*' | *φρὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ*—; it is possible to contemplate *αὐτίκα | φρὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν* 'she says it all herself, straight out'. It is also to be considered whether the *πάνν γάρ* is best seen as a loosely constructed intensitive with the following words (which are otherwise heavily qualified), or as an interjection by Sostratos of the kind that I incline to see in the *vñ Δία* of 23, and would now see here. Beyond that, one can wonder (as I did in *MP* 21, n. 15) whether there is something more to the connection between the girl and the gold: was she, in Menander, called Chrysis not Bacchis? That could give an extra point to *φρὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ*, however read, and to *ἀξίως τ' ἐμοῦ*. Etymological word-play with names is perennial in Greek, notoriously with Helen and the root of *ἐλεῖν* (see Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 687), but also with characters less than legendary, for instance, Plutarch, *Life of Nicias* 3, quotes Timaeus for the etymological resonance of the names Nicias with *νίκη* and Hermocrates with *Ἑρμαῖ*. The matter is primarily of interest in regard to Plautus' changes of names in the play, and cannot be pursued in full detail here. The name Syros (which is coupled with Parmenon as the name of a very ordinary sort of slave at *Ba.* 649 f.) is changed by Plautus to Chrysalus 'Goldie', giving several comic possibilities, as at 240, *opus est chryso Chrysalis*; and there are more word-games with Bacchis (perhaps, therefore, like Chrysalus, and in consequence of Chrysalus, Plautus' own choice: see *Ba.* 53, 371); and with Archidemides (see above on 49 f., and further Questa, *ed. Ba.*² 1 ff., esp. 6 n. 6).

94 *δ κομίζω*, the monosyllabic relative pronoun in metrical liaison with the following verb, as with *δ λέγει* at the same place in the line at *Samia* 154: see in general *Dyskolos of Menander* 63 ff.

95 f. For *πάνν* (here, with the *γάρ*, separated from what follows), see H. Thesleff, *Studies on Intensification ...* (Helsinki, 1954) 73 ff. The broken (one is tempted to say 'fluttering') utterance of *κομίζε, κτλ.* is perhaps intended as a thumbnail sketch of the girl's excitable behaviour: notably, it includes an oath (see 21 f.); for *καί ... τε*, 'indeed ... and worthy of me too', see A. M. Dale on E. *Alc.* 646–7.

97 *καλῶς ποσὺν γ'* and cognate expressions can be used ironically, as here and at *Dysk.* 629 (of Knemon's fall into the well). *ικανῶς* 'is probably to be taken with *εὐρέθη*' (Sandbach), and I now do so.

98 *οἶα* (ν) remedies what may be a simple haplography (ν before π), but the pressure from the surrounding nominatives is strong. Here and in what follows Sostratos attempts to meet his disillusionment with balance; this allocation of the blame between friend and girl-friend may have influenced Plautus' choice of an opening for the soliloquy at *Ba.* 500 f., *inimiciorem nunc utrum credam magis | sodalemne esse an Bacchidem incertum admodumst*.

102 The indignant *εἶτα*: see LSJ s.v., and on *Dysk.* 153, where it begins a considerable harangue by Knemon. Moschos here enters from the house in which he has found Sostratos' girl, and become involved with her sister, the cause of all the confusion and excitement.

104 *καὶ σύ*, used in returning a greeting: *καὶ σύ γ'* Ar. *Lys.* 6, *νῆ καὶ σύ γ(ε)* M. *Georgos* 41, *Samia* 128; or indeed in returning a curse, *Samia* 295.

104 f. *κατηφής ... κενρωπός ... βλέμμα τοῦθ' ὑπόδακρον*: the description focuses the audience on what they can see (the downcast head) and supplies what they need to imagine. Modern experience of masked theatre shows how vital body language is in the absence of changeable expressions (to which, incidentally, one can sometimes feel over-exposed by close-ups on the large or small screen). The present symptoms of pain, anger and despair, in different measure, are similarly indicated in tragedy: e.g. E. *Med.* 1012 *τί δαι κατηφέις ὄμμα καὶ δακρυρροεῖς*; (see also *Held.* 633, *Or.* 881); but here they are the mark of the unhappy lover, and so elsewhere in New Comedy and in literature influenced by it: it is a proof of an unhappy love-affair that a man at a party *ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐνύστασε καὶ τι κατηφές | ἔβλεπε, χῶ σφιγχθεῖς οὐκ ἔμενε στέφανος*, Asclepiades, *HE* 894 ff. (896–7) = *AP* 12. 135.

105-7 κακὸν ... τῶν γ' ἐνταῦθα: a very mild allusion, if it is one, to contemporary affairs in Athens (the date of the play's production is not known). The trouble, as ἐνδον γὰρ ἀμέλει laconically indicates, is inside in the house, not outside in the city.

108 An adverb seems to be what is lost, and ἐκτόπως is here supplied from *Dysk.* 824; ἐξόχως would do as well for sense, less well for space. *Bacchides* 540-551, in sequel to 539, which corresponds to the present line, is a dialogue on false friendship which has been thought from time to time to derive from Menander, but plainly does not derive from the immediate context before us, and is in any case of doubtful status in the transmission of Plautus. The possible origins of the passage are briefly explored in *MP* 17 f., with nn. 17-19; for a full discussion, see Zwierlein, *Kritik* I. 24-30 and IV. 261 ff.

109 Missing are main verb and (probably) participle ending in -ν]τα, as it might be ἐγγων μ' ἀπατώντα. The traces of ink left by abrasion are slight, and may be deceptive, but I have nothing to offer which seems to suit them.

110 δεινότατα is almost pure guesswork; but the young man's powerful outburst at *Ba.* 560 at least lends credence to the presence of a strong word here, and this one does seem to suit what little ink can be seen.

112 οὐκ ἤξιουν: the imperfect verges on the sense of a past potential, 'I wouldn't have expected it'; so perhaps with ἤξιουν positive at *PDidot* I. 17; and so with other verbs in the semantic fields of necessity, propriety and expectation: see *KG* i. 204-6.

112-3 λέγεις δὲ τί; Compare 107: the εἶτα there and the inversion here emphasize the urgency of the question; but with ἐμὲ γάρ, τὸν ἔρωτα (if rightly read) the speaker looks back rather to the ἠδίκηκασι/ἠδίκηκα exchange in 110. The distinction made between the first charge of ἀδικία and the other things which were painful shows that Sostratos regarded the wrong as aggravated by the circumstances in which it was committed: that is, presumably, not only by a friend, but by a friend in a position of special trust: in *Bacchides* 561 ff., consistently with that, the young man makes a leading point of the letter he sent from Ephesus commissioning his friend to find the girl. On different kinds of wrong as perceived in the fourth century BC and earlier, see on *Dyskolos* 297 f., with much more material in MacDowell's edition of Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* (1990), pp. 18-23; and also Trevor J. Saunders, *Plato's Penal Code* (1991), index under *excuses and aggravations*.

E.W. HANDLEY

4408. MENANDER, *Misoumenos* 152-9

100/191 (d)

12.7 × 5 cm

Second/third century

A tattered and badly abraded broad strip of papyrus, broken off at top and foot. In one place the full length of a verse survives, measuring c. 10 cm; of the intercolumnia 1.5 cm are preserved on the left and 0.9 cm on the right (at the narrowest points). The back is blank and the writing runs along the fibres.

The text is written in a rapid angular hand generally slanting to the right, with no pretensions to formality. I suppose it may be assigned to the late second or the early third century. Notable are some affinities to the 'Severe Style' in the shapes of ε and c (both straight-backed), ν, ο (mostly tiny), υ, and ω with the central stroke almost eliminated. Bilinearity is strictly maintained. XXIII 2357 (assigned to the second century, but the third cannot be excluded) and VII 1016 (= *GMAW*² 84; mid-third century), both examples of this style, are quite similar. One may also compare it to the less stylised XXXII 2627 (second century, assigned), or XXXIX 2882 (late second century, assigned).

A *dicolon*, written by the original scribe, serves for speaker division in 155; another *dicolon* must have stood in 157, but the surface is abraded. At these places abbreviated

notae personarum have been inserted in the interlinear space. These are surely later additions: they are written in a cursive script with a thicker pen, which may point to a second hand. It remains uncertain whether *paragraphoi* were employed, since where they would be expected the surface is rubbed away. There is no evidence for any other lectional signs, apart from a dubious case of *apostrophe* in 158.

The papyrus coincides with a badly damaged part of 2656 (Sandbach O10). The two papyri do not always seem to offer the same text, but these discrepancies occur in places where the physical damage is too severe to allow evaluative judgements. Some problems can be resolved, but there are still important questions left unanswered. The fragment comes from a dialogue scene about which speculation has been rife.¹ 'In my view there is not sufficient ground for guessing either who are the speakers or what is the subject of their conversation' (Sandbach p. 447). We now have a better but not perfect idea about the speakers; but the topic of their discourse still evades us.

The new papyrus provides us with three names: two in the form of abbreviated *notae personarum*, the other in the text. The first, Χρυ- in 155, most probably stands for a woman named Χρυσις. A similar abbreviation also occurs in 2656, where one reads [.]ρυ[; up until now the damage had made Chrysis only one of the candidates. Chrysis addresses another woman, Syra. Another *nota* in 157 introduces a third person. Despite the palaeographic uncertainty (see below), it seems reasonable to identify the speaker as Krateia. Where she stops speaking is not clear. Getas delivers a monologue shortly after, which perhaps begins in 159, cf. Sisti p. 101. At any rate, in 160 Krateia's father is spoken of in a derogatory manner ill-befitting his daughter.

It is likely but not certain that all three persons were on stage at the same time. But there is no means of telling whether all of them took part in the dialogue. The person who speaks before Chrysis may be Syra or Krateia. On the basis of parallels, I am more inclined to see Syra as a κωφὸν πρόσωπον, but see the note on 155 below.

With the text fragmentary beyond recovery, the identity of the characters involved in the dialogue which introduces the text presented by 2656 has always been a puzzle. Turner (*New Fragments* 11) and after him Webster (*Introd. Men.* 165) suggested that one of them was Krateia. Merkelbach thought of Krateia's nurse and another servant of Krateia who had come into Thrasonides' possession (*RhM* 109 (1966) 101); these two persons could be Chrysis and Syra respectively. Arnott recently argued for three characters on the stage: Krateia's nurse, who converses with an old female slave of Kleinias (?Syra), and Getas, who eavesdrops in the background and 'comment[s] in asides on what he hears' (l.c. 35). But there are no positive indications that anyone from Kleinias' household is on stage; and, as the new papyrus shows, Krateia may well be one of the speaking characters (in 143, *pace* Arnott, I think that ὦ θῦ[γα]τρίδιον, spoken to Krateia

¹ For discussions of the passage see Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander* 11; R. Merkelbach, *RhM* 109 (1966) 100 f.; W. Kraus, *RhM* 114 (1971) 5 f.; Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* 446 f.; T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* 165; F. Sisti, *Menandro: Misoumenos* 99 f.; W. G. Arnott, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 33 ff.

by her nurse, does not belong to a reported conversation). My view is that there are three speaking characters: Krateia, Chrysis (her nurse), and Getas in the background; on stage with the women is also Syra (a slave of Krateia or Thrasonides), who is a *persona muta*. Much depends on the interpretation of ἀπαλλάγηθ' ('go away') in 141, which is the elided form of either ἀπαλλάγηθι or ἀπαλλάγητε: one of the speakers hears a whisper, suspects that it must have come from someone around, and urges the other(s) to go. In 155, after we hear that someone is lurking nearby (154), Chrysis says to Syra that they should go (ἀπίωμεν). It is tempting to think that ἀπίωμεν picks up ἀπαλλάγηθ'. The plural (ἀπίωμεν) would make ἀπαλλάγητε attractive, and would reinforce the case for supposing that the three women are present together. Thus in 141 Krateia says 'go away' to Chrysis and Syra, because they were overheard. But they remain on stage, until there is no doubt that someone whom they cannot see is watching them. Then Chrysis tells Syra, 'let's be off', and the two women exit the stage, leaving Krateia alone. (I find less attractive the idea that Chrysis says ἀπαλλάγηθι to Krateia, since Krateia remains on stage after Chrysis expresses her intention of leaving.) This interpretation may receive support from the two passages where we find ἀπίωμεν with an addressee's name, Ar. *Peace* 1260 and Men. *Epit.* 631. Indeed, we may see that Menander's use of the construction in both *Epitrepontes* and here appears to be the same: two persons are having a conversation, and one of them (speaker A) says ἀπίωμεν to a person who is not involved in the action, and is of lower status; after that, speaker A and the mute make their exit, leaving speaker B alone. In *Peace* ἀπίωμεν is likely to have been addressed by the ὄπλων κάπηλος to a κωφὸν πρόσωπον, cf. Platnauer on 1210–64; the dialogue between Trygaios and the κάπηλος continues for a short while, and soon Trygaios is left alone on the stage. In *Epitrepontes* the cook Karion converses with Smikrines and at some stage says to his assistant, another mute (cf. G-S on 603–36 and W. G. Arnott, *Menander* I p. 469), that they should be off. Immediately afterwards or a little later (the text is too fragmentary) Karion exits along with Simias, and leaves Smikrines alone in the stage.

157 introduces a further difficulty. The person who speaks the second half of the verse asks 'with whom does he drink then?'. The identity of the drinker is not stated. Is he the same as the one who is described as πίνων in 167? But there, too, it is not clear to whom it refers. Sandbach preferred to see Kleinias; Sisti argued for Demeas. 167 is certainly spoken by Getas, 157, perhaps, by Krateia. If she is referring to a particular person, it must be Kleinias, since she does not know of Demeas' presence. Or could she be referring to the unknown stranger, who will turn out to be Demeas? In any case, the two different speakers may mean two different drinkers.

Could there in fact be two? There could, assuming that Kleinias is drinking with his guest Demeas in his house. We may infer from 164 (ἦσέν ποτ' αὐτῶν) θάτερος that two men are drinking, and one of them is singing. Perhaps these songs were heard outside the house, and that would account for Krateia's question in 157; she hears them and wonders about Kleinias' company. (There may of course be a problem in her not

recognising her father's voice.) On the other hand Getas has seen them. One of them, apparently Demeas, is unknown to him; this to my mind is the implication of the vexed 163 ἄρ' οὐτός ἐστι δούλος. (I cannot believe that Getas speaks of Kleinias; Kleinias must be Thrasonides' neighbour, but Getas' words do not betray the familiarity that neighbourhood would have produced.)

Another problem arises from the appearance of another female character in 387, Simiche, on whom see LIX 3967 introd. (p. 61). One of the possible identifications suggested is that she may be Krateia's nurse; this appears more difficult now than before, since Chrysis may well occupy this position (cf. also Arnott, l.c. 35). The choices may be limited, I think, either to a servant of Kleinias or to a servant of Thrasonides. If we are to take Chrysis and Syra as belonging to Thrasonides' household (whether they have a special connection with Krateia matters less), the number of his servants would be four with Getas and Simiche, an unusually high number. On the other hand, we hear of only one female slave of Kleinias (γραῦς). Perhaps Simiche is a person from Kleinias' house, but without more of the text this cannot be confirmed.

The play enjoyed remarkable popularity in antiquity. This papyrus brings the number of papyri identified as belonging to *Misoumenos* to thirteen, the highest number of ancient manuscripts for any of Menander's plays. For a list of them, to which now add LIX 3967 and LX 4025, see Sisti pp. 18 ff.

Turner noted that '[a] somewhat disturbing feature ... is the discrepancies between the different texts' (*New Fragments* 6). This feature is also shared by this papyrus, which in 153 and 157 diverges from 2656. I can offer nothing by way of explanation. At 153 the text of 2656 makes good sense, and perhaps our papyrus is at fault; the contrary is true in 157, where 2656 may have had nonsense. Papyri of other plays of Menander sometimes disagree with each other, but this degree of textual difference has no counterpart in any other play.

I have inspected 2656 in the British Library, where it is now kept, and this has led me to alter the text of the ed. pr. at certain points. All references to its readings derive from this revised transcription. For the (articulated) text I rely on the OCT and Sisti's edition with commentary. I am grateful to Dr. C. F. L. Austin for valuable suggestions on the text.

...[...][...]αθ...[...][...]νειαρεις...[...][...]
 [...]...ισημαςλανβανεινυδουκετι [...] [...] [
 155 ανο.θ...^{χρν}θελωσιν: απιω[...].ενσυρα[...][...]
 [...]...μα...η...[...].ρτεμ.ν [...] [
 [...]...[...].ς...[...].κ...[...].ετατινωνπι.[...].ποτ.[...] [
 [...]α[...].ε...[...].θαπιστονουθ[...][...]
]εν...[

152] . . . [, low specks; low dot 153] . . . [, short medial horizontal joining trace of right-hand arc to right; lower part of upright; two upright traces; on disjointed fibres, probably at line level, two specks θ , lower half only; first and second, feet of three successive uprights followed by medial upright trace; then at mid-height a lower curve followed by another trace (εi has been overwritten on or with another letter, π most likely) [, flat-based lower left-hand arc joining long descender (perhaps one letter only, φ I should think, although no trace of the right-hand part of its loop is visible—perhaps abraded?); trace suggesting lower left-hand arc, then medial horizontal trace joining curve or oblique to the right; nondescript traces; foot of upright (?) 154] , low oblique trace, suggesting the lower hooked part of ε, c; base horizontal; high speck followed by (lower part of) upright 155 ο , high upright trace θ , back of ε, θ; low flattish trace; top of upright] . . . , trace on line consistent with rightward hook on letter foot 156] . . . [, lower left-hand arc thickened at top and speck above (lower part of ε, unless loop of α)] , speck; letter foot; oblique foot; high dot followed by another medial; lower left-hand curve followed by angular trace at two-thirds height (o?) μα [, right-hand part only; upper part only; top of upright; descending oblique; trace on line, then what looks like the left-hand part of suprascript ω; trace at one-third height, gap, short upright [, left-hand part of high horizontal] . . . , tail of α rather than left-hand leg of μ μ . . . , traces admitting lower curve 157] . . . [, short horizontal at mid-height] . . . , traces suggesting upper part of upright c , upright, gap, another (upright?) trace (one or two letters); circlet?; medial specks; upper part and foot of left-hand curve; upright; traces suggesting back of ε, c κ . . . , ascending oblique; ascending oblique or upright (slanting to the right)] . . . , dot at mid-height, gap, speck on line, then descending oblique curved leftwards at foot (one or two letters; in the former case α or λ, in the latter probably μ); short upright thickened rightwards at top and foot, and scattered ink above reconcilable with upper curve ι . . . [, ascending oblique joining descending at top] . . . , foot of upright [, back of ε, c, then long horizontal 158] . . . a, high trace] , left-hand tip of horizontal joining top of upright; upright followed by traces suggesting right-hand part of high circlet (ρ); upright; traces, no letter verifiable . . . [, top of upright which slightly below the point of ligature to the preceding ε joins oblique trace, not inconsistent with top of diagonal, gap, another upright; high horizontal joining tops of uprights to the left and possibly right, followed by minimal trace of lower left-hand arc; two specks at mid-height π, broken but certain; between α and π there is something written in the interlinear space that can be described as the lower part of c or even as a rough breathing θ, short horizontal above 159 . . . [, short ascending oblique above line level; o broken at top and bottom?; thickish low trace; ascending oblique followed by speck at line-level, perhaps lower part of ε, c; lower part of ascending oblique

2656 + 4408

]. . . [. . . [. . .] αθ . . . [. . .] ν[ει]παρεις . . . [. . .] ν
 ε[ι]ζω τις ήμ̃ας λανθάνει, ν̃ν δ' οὐκέτι,
 155 ἄν οἱ θεοῖ θέλωσιν: ἀπίωμεν, ^{Χρυ(εία)} Σύρα.
 γω[. . .][. . .]. ἄχθομαι δὲ νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν
 με . c κ . . . [. . .] μετὰ τίνων πίν[ε]ι ποτέ
 . α[. . .][. . .] . ε . . . [. . .] θ' ἀπιστον οὐδ[έν]
] εν [

153 2656 gives [. . .] . . . [. . .] α . ν . [1-2] . ηριω . . . [2-3] . . . [and the restored text reads [ε]κ[τιν] [το]ιαυθ[ε] ικε]τηριων. There seems to be a problem with accepting [ε]κ[τιν]τηριων, however, for it would assume an unusual degree of overcrowding. The trace after αυ is a mere speck on the edge. The lacuna has carried away virtually the whole of this letter as well as part of the letter read by Turner as]τ; between them there seems to be space for one or two (if one of them is ι) letters only.
 In the new piece,]αθ is the first fixed point. The space would allow εστιντοιαυθ]αθ or εστιντοιαυτ]αθ, and the tiny traces would not exclude εστιν. After that, enough survives to show that ικετηριων cannot be read.]ηριων[is certain in 2656; the first trace (read by ed. pr. as τ) is a horizontal at two-thirds height which would also allow ε or θ. If θ . . . [. . .] ν in the new papyrus corresponds to this, we get θηριων. However, θηριων looks short for the space in our papyrus. After nu, it seems that we have a correction, probably π written over ει. παρειςφ- is fairly certain, but what follows is too fragmentary to be of much help. Articulation is also difficult. One may try πάρεις εφ- or παρείς φέρ- or παρειςφέρ- (εφ is palaeographically possible) but I cannot make any sense. I have thought of παρειςφέρων, which could go well with είω and λανθάνει in the next verse (or παρειςφέρ[ε]ι)ν): 'someone is smuggling them inside behind our back'. This would introduce a verb known exclusively from late prose writers, but Dr C. F. L. Austin reminds us that Menander has παρειςίων at fr. 178.2, and also adduces Philippid. fr. 8 and Philemon's title Παρεισιών, Nicostr. fr. 5.2 παρεισίτω, Athen. fr. 1.32 παρεισεκύκλησεν.
 154 [. . .] . . . ισημας: [. . .] ωτ[ι] . . .] μα[2656. τις looks very likely. Before that ω suits the traces in both; before that, in the new piece, what looks like the lower hook of ε or c. ε[ι]ζω would suit the space.
 τις perhaps has the sense given in LSJ s.v. A.II.3: 'in reference to a definite person, whom one wishes to avoid naming'. The reference may be to Getas or, less likely, to Thrasonides. The latter must be meant in 136.
 λανθάνει: [. . .] νθ[. . .] νει[2656 (correctly guessed by Austin at CGFPR p. 151 n.). The sense would be that someone inside the house has escaped the women's notice. And indeed a little earlier (139) the women had heard something, and one of them says παρά τινος οὗτος ὁ ψιθυρισμός (140). τις here seems to correspond to τινος, and the sound must have come from the same person who now λανθάνει. The imperative ἀπαλλάγηθ[at 141 must have been prompted by this ψιθυρισμός. This person must be Getas, who at 162 mentions that one of his activities was τὰ γυναῖ' ἑν' ἑξῶθ' ἐπιθεωρε[ῖν] (the text after Merkelbach's correction).
 There may be a problem with taking είω in the sense of 'inside' (ἐνδοθεν), since in Menander this adverb is found exclusively with verbs of motion, unlike what seems to be the case here. είω however is often found where ἔδον would have been expected, cf. LSJ s.v. 2, though no certain example for this use in Comedy can be adduced, cf. Hunter on Eub. fr. 40. If ε[ι]ζω is what Menander wrote, this passage constitutes an unicum. But of course we do not know what preceded in 153.

νὸν δ' οὐκέτι occupies the same position in the trimeter also at Crat. fr. 194 and Men. *Pk.* 491. The verb is missing; we could understand *παρεισοῦσαι* or *λύσει* (Austin).

155 ἄν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσιν. **2656** has [...].θεοιθε. [...]; the first trace a diagonal (consistent with nu) and the second a closed loop, admitting either alpha or omicron. (Turner read] αι, and tentatively restored δ] και θεοὶ θέλω[οιεν]). The final high point can now be interpreted as part of a dicolon.

The same phrase is put in the mouth of the slave Daos at *Georgos* 44–5. Here it may have been spoken by Syra, but this cannot be proved. For the underlying pattern of thought, recurrent in fourth century literature, see K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 139. It is worth noticing that the phrase is used interchangeably for many/all gods or one only (ἄν θεός θέλη).

Xpυ(cic). It is interesting that in both papyri the same mode of insertion and abbreviation is followed.

I believe that the same character name is written above 148 in **2656**. Interlinear *nota*, could be read]AC ([*LET*]AC) as well as [*PA*]YC (ed. pr., ad loc.). The letter before sigma is most probably upsilon; I see a high dot followed by the top and presumably the middle part of a riser. The short stroke above, given as a horizontal in the edition, should rather be taken as an abbreviation mark. It is roughly the same as what appears above upsilon in 155. If so, it would be out of place had the *nota* been written out in full, as the suggested restorations seem to presume. Therefore]ϕτ may be restored as [*Xp*]υ(cic), and so we may give Chrysis a speaking part in 148. That a different way of abbreviating the same name is found in 155 is hardly surprising; '[c]haracter names are not consistent in abbreviation or even in manner of writing' (Turner, op. cit. 6).

The name occurs frequently in Comedy, see K. Schmidt, *Hermes* 37 (1902) 183 and J. C. Austin, *The Significant Name in Terence* 77 f. Her comic namesakes are all hetairai: this is the name of the Samian girl in Menander's *Samia*, of the hetaira in *Eumouchos* (Thais in Terence's play) and of another hetaira in *Kolax* (fr. 4).² The name also occurs at fr. adesp. 71 and 1131.2 KA, but there her status is not clear. The epigraphic evidence attests the name also for upper class Athenian women, see the corresponding entry in *LGPN* ii, but, most interestingly, we possess evidence of a slave with this name in an inscription of 330 BC, see L. Collins Reilly, *Slaves in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1978) no. 3225. The connection is evident if Chrysis is Krataia's nurse.

ἀπίωμεν. See introd.

Cyra is clear in the new papyrus. θύραξ was originally read in **2656**, and has been printed by all editors, despite the syntactic difficulties involved. But this is a misreading, and *Cyra* should be read also in **2656**. (This reading has been recently suggested also by Arnott, l.c. 34.)

Cyra is an ethnic slave's name; epigraphic evidence is listed in Collins Reilly, op.cit. nos. 2602–13. Syra appears as a slave's name first in Ar. *Peace* 1146. In Plautus' *Mercator* and *Truculentus*,³ two plays with Greek prototypes, she is an old slave playing a marginal role in the action. In all other occurrences of the name in Comedy Syra is an old woman, who may originally have had servile status, but she does not always appear in the capacity of a slave. So in Terence's *Hecyra* we have Donatus' testimony (on 59) that she is a *lena*; and there is no reason to think that her character was any different in Apollodoros' *Hecyra* (fr. 8). In Philemon's fr. 117 we know only that she is an old woman. Nothing can be ascertained about Syra in Caec. *Titthe* (fr. 223 R³), a play generally thought to have been modelled on Menander's homonymous comedy. For the significance of her name, and bibliography, see Austin, op. cit. 81 and n. 10.⁴ It emerges that in Greek Comedy the figure of Syra was established as that of an old woman, who may well have been a slave.⁵ Her figure was not modified in Roman Comedy. Inscriptions have provided more occurrences of the name, but the possibility that a comic Syra was a respectable married woman is clearly small. None of the other comic Syrae is a *persona muta*—the most notable example is in Ter. *Hecyra*; but, I think, this is not the case here, see introd.

² It may also be worth recalling that Handley has hypothesised that Plautus' Bacchis was named Chrysis in *Dis Exapaton* (4407 93–6 n.).

³ In *Truculentus* the name is Sura, and she is a *tonstrix*, but there is no doubt about her status.

⁴ I am not convinced by Austin's view that the name 'was chosen as suggestive of a tricky, rapacious lena' in the same way as the name Syrus was indicative of a wanton slave. Similarly farfetched as Gatzert's assertion that 'Syrae ... saepe lenae videntur fuisse' (ibid.), which is upheld by Austin; his evidence, which can be limited to the *Hecyra*, is too scanty to support it.

⁵ This is not contradicted by other occurrences outside Comedy. In Luc. *Dial. meretr.* IV 4 an old woman is *Cyra* (Syrian), and is so called. There is no indication about the age of a slave named Syra in Alciphro II 22 Schepers (*Cicύρα* codd.). Theoc. X 26 is a different case.

There is no way of telling whether Chrysis continued in the next verse. There is a hole after the last letter of the verse, which might have contained a dicolon. Arnott, l.c. 34, on the basis of the photograph, observes that 'after the alpha the traces can be interpreted as simply the upper stigmæ of a dicolon'. I cannot quite agree with this: on the papyrus I see a minute horizontal placed high in the line, which may not belong to a letter at all (some flecks of ink below may have reinforced the impression of sigma in the ed. pr., but this is not necessary).

Pace Sandbach, it does not necessarily follow that the two women depart immediately afterwards; indeed, at 157 the third person may be speaking to Chrysis.

156] [...].μα...η...ρτεμ...ν **4408**
 [...].ω[μην[...]...].θο.αιδενη... [**2656**

In the first part, the correspondence is upset by the deleted *μεν* in **2656**; it must have been deleted at some stage after copying, as the different ink (greyish, while the scribe used black) indicates. There is no means of telling how far the deleted letters extended to the right; and there is no sign of suprascript letters to replace the deletion. The first letter, partly preserved in the new piece, may well have been α, ε or ς. This would suit Turner's supplement ξγώ. At the end, Turner had guessed νή τήν Ἀρτεμην, but thought *αρτεμιν* 'not reconcilable with the faint traces'. The oath occurs exclusively in Comedy and is always used by women, as Artemis was mainly a woman's goddess (at Ar. *Thesm.* 517 and 569 Mnesilochus is supposed to speak as a woman). In most cases it is found at verse-ends. In Menander it also appears in *Dysk.* 874. As in *Dyskolos*, for which cf. Sandbach's note, the reason behind its use here is obscure.

Before that, the new piece can easily be read *μαιδε*, in conformity with **2656**. Turner suggested *ἄχθομαι*; the chi is in fact virtually certain, but of the alpha nothing survives. This is not excluded by the faint traces in **4408**. If it is right, we have only one short syllable or c. 3 letters missing after ξγώ. If δέ is postponed, we could think of, e.g., ξγώ [ων]ἀχθομαι, a verb which occurs at *Heros* 10. Otherwise, the first short phrase must represent a sentence in itself: I do not see how to restore a verb; ξγώ γάρ or ξγώ μὲν would fit the space (though note that *μεν* has been deleted in **2656**), but then we should need to assume an apologetic. Alternatively, we could give up ξγώ, and look for a verb. If the first letter is α, ε or ς, and the second γ, τ or ψ, we could try e.g. *ἄγω* [γάρ or ἄγω]μην. But I do not see anything obviously suited to the context.

157 At the beginning **2656** has [...]με [...]]; the initial lacuna may have contained only one letter; the trace after ε is an upright, which would suit ι. If we combine this with what is visible in our piece, we could consider *ἡμείε*.

The supralinear addition is likely to be another abbreviated *nota personae*. ατ is certain, but it is doubtful whether one or two letters came before, since the traces defy description. The obvious candidate is *Κράτ(ε)α*.

2656 is badly rubbed, and what I can make out of it cannot be reconciled with what I see in the new fragment. In the palaeographic commentary accompanying **2656** one reads 'Below ενη of 156, possibly]ν...οητ...ειπ[. With all due caution, after my inspection of **2656**, I should modify its reading to]ν...ιτ...ιτ[. ν corresponds to something lost in our papyrus. After that there is a short right-hand curve, likely to belong to μ, ο, ω. ε is not unlikely to follow (upper part of its back and both ends of its crossbar only), and seems to join an adjacent upright; this is what was taken as ν in the ed. pr. A long upright slanting to the right comes after, and then τα is probable. All this does not give *μετα*. Likewise, the traces of the four letters after α are not compatible with τωων, which is also too long to fit in the space. There is no problem with π[.

π[. The damaged letter is λ or ν. After it one rather than two letters have been lost in the lacuna. πύ[ε] seems the best restoration. For the expression cf. *Ep.* 755 πύει με[τ' ἐκέ]λης. After that ποτέ goes with τίνων: 'with whom on earth is he drinking?'. ποτέ usually comes immediately after the pronoun, but not always; cf. e.g. fr. 568.1 τίνι δεδοῦλονται ποτε.

158 ε...ενπ[], rather than ενπ[(not ειπ[.]).

]θ' ἀπιστον. There are faint ink flecks above α and a letter above π, which may be sigma. If this supralinear addition is a *nota personae*, *Xpυ(cic)* might be considered, but *Γέρτα* also might suit. However, although the papyrus is very damaged at this point, there is no indication of a dicolon or of the space which should have been left blank on either side if a speaker change had taken place. Alternatively, it may be a correction—but correcting what? The ink above α may belong to the *nota*, but it is also likely that the specks are what remain from an apostrophe written after theta.

The uncertainty about the presence of an elision mark makes it difficult to choose between]θ' ἀπιστον and]θα πιστόν. ἐντ[α]θ[α, unclined or not, is a possible reading. With ουθ[following, it is clearly tempting to recognise ἀπιστον οὐδέν, though not inevitable (cf. *Pk.* 187 οὐδέν πιστόν). This collocation appears at Men.

fr. 466.1 (ὄκ' ἔστ') ἀπιστον οὐδέν, as well as at Bacch. 3. 57, while οὐδέν ἀπιστον occurs at Xen. *Symp.* 4. 49, *Cyr.* 3. 1. 26, Dem. 1. 23, etc.

οὐδ[έν]. The papyrus has ουθ[]; above θ a suprascript letter, broken but strongly suggesting δ. That is, ουθ- was changed to ουδ- (as correction or variant). οὐθέν is found along with οὐδέν in papyri of Menander, and both forms are accepted into the text. Historically, forms with theta took over almost completely from the delta forms by the end of the fourth century in Athens, see L. Threatte, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I 472 ff.

In 2656 traces of six letters near the end of the line are visible. Turner saw traces of only four letters and read]ουφ[, but this is a misreading: the first trace after the edge is an upright, the fourth letter certainly theta, the fifth probably epsilon, while of the sixth there is a minimal trace only. One may thus read]ουθε[, which is not different from the text of our papyrus.

With ουθ[we are near the end of the trimeter, and after it there is room for at most four letters; we might think of οὐδ[έν ἦν (or οὐδ[εν?]). Dr C. F. L. Austin suggests οὐδ[ε ἔν, which 'would explain the correction of ουθ to ουδ, as you can't say οὐθε ἔν'.

159 As in the previous verse, there is no coincidence with what is preserved in 159. Since 160 seems to begin in mid-sentence, it is likely that the speech (by Getas?) started in 159 (or even 158). Unfortunately neither papyrus throws any light on this problem.

N. GONIS

4409. NEW COMEDY (?MENANDER)

49 5B.96/D (9-10)a

Fr. 1 13 × 19 cm

Third century

This text, recognisably from a play of New Comedy, is written in a somewhat spreading mixed hand similar in character, among recently published comic fragments, to LIX 3970; but it is more upright. If the parallels quoted there are valid,¹ it should date from the third century AD; for its 'more upright' quality, a fair comparison is VII 1012 (Pack² 2289), a treatise on literary composition on the back of a document not earlier than AD 204/5, that has been assigned to about the mid-third century.

Fr. 1 has the remains of 21 iambic trimeters, the first eleven of which have lost at least three elements from their latter half, while the last ten are nearly complete. The back is blank; there is some 5.5 cm of surviving lower margin, which suggests a roll of handsome proportions. Frs 2 and 3, if rightly put together, give ends of 17 lines. It is possible that they (and indeed the scrap represented by fr. 4) are part of one and the same tall column, but without more to go on its height and number of lines can only be imagined.

α is pointed at the left, not rounded; β small and inconspicuous; ε, θ, ο, ς are narrow (θ and ο can be very small); the descenders of ρ, τ, υ, φ, ψ are long; τ and the rarer ξ and ψ (but not γ) have prominent horizontals; the centre of φ is characteristically flat, not rounded.

Parts are distinguished in the regular way by paragraphos and dicolon. Other lectional signs are sparse: a high point is to be seen at fr. 1, 6 and probably 20; diastole,

¹ Namely XXII 2341, Proceedings before the Prefect, AD 202; II 223, *Iliad* V, on the other side of a petition dated AD 186; and PFlor 255, a letter in the Heroninos archive dated circa 260; these are in Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, nos 19(c), 21(a) and 22(d) respectively.

curved and prominent, at fr. 1, 15, 16, 20 and fr. 2+3, 2, 8, elsewhere abraded or doubtful (fr. 1, 3 and 4); angular rough breathing at fr. 1, 20; trema over iota in προσιόντ², fr. 1, 16 and προπηλακισθεῖς 1, 17; perhaps a supralinear hyphen at fr. 1, 4. In fr. 1, 21, a correction, probably made *currente calamo*; and so perhaps in 1, 4 (see n.). Elision is unmarked, fr. 1, 12, and crasis (ταυτον), 1, 5; καὶ ἕτερον and καὶ [ο]ῦκ are in *scriptio plena*, 1, 17-18. There are no accents or other signs of scholarly activity; in fr. 1, 4, whatever he intended at the beginning of the line, the copyist has an uncorrected error at its middle, as the scansion shows.

On examining the content, we enter into a matrimonial tangle which at once recalls that of the *Fabula Incerta* in the Cairo Codex of Menander, in which a Laches is concerned, as here (fr. 1, 12). It is for consideration how the present piece might relate to that play, and indeed to the various other fragmentary comic texts which have from time to time been thought of in connection with it. Given that this set of fragments may well represent (and probably does represent) more than one play, it will be prudent to begin from a summary account of our fr. 1 as viewed in isolation.

Fr. 1, it is plain, represents a dialogue. Laches' partner in the conversation is here called B. At 12 ff., B reproaches Laches for presuming to think of him as a kinsman while taking away from him the daughter who (says Laches) is already betrothed to someone else: he is now arranging the wedding (18-19). B calls for Heaven's help; then, apparently, an interruption by another character is signalled by the sound of a door opening (20-21). What goes before this is less clear. The reproach, one presumes, must have been triggered by the request from Laches partly preserved in 8 f., where he asks that B should call on and discuss with C (the ἀτῶ of 8) the strange behaviour of D (the τοῦτον of 9). C therefore has a house on stage, and should be the subject of the (incomplete) remark in 6 f., 'No way will he (ἐκείνος) come out and [?seek to] punish you'. B must accordingly speak at ταῦτα in 7, and Laches before that. 1-5 are then lines spoken by B. The recognizable kinship terms 'father ... daughter, brother' are followed by τοῦτο ἐκβιάσεται, 'he'll carry it by force' (who will, C or D?); and then, somewhat obscured by gaps and corruption, comes a sententious pronouncement on justice and incompatibility which is what prompts Laches' remark 'That's how you are' (6), and then the request which brings in its train the heated exchange between Laches and B which was our starting point. Damage to the text leaves it unclear how the dialogue was divided in 9-11, for the paragraphoi do not of themselves distinguish lines with change of speaker at the end from those with changes in the middle either instead or as well. Thus if B intervenes in 9, Laches can resume and continue with 10-11; or B can speak 10-11, perhaps beginning at the end of 9, provided that Laches has a short remark at the end of 11, before ἀλλ' ἀξιοῖς, Λάχης... in 12. In neither case is it determined whether C or D is the subject of the two third person perfect indicatives in 10-11.

The reconstruction of a sequence of action in *Fab. Inc.* from a fragmentary leaf of the Cairo Codex is subject to a number of uncertainties, as the careful review of earlier

discussions in Gomme-Sandbach makes plain (*Menander: a commentary*, 683 ff.). When the situation becomes relatively clear, at 13 ff., the Laches of the piece, who is addressed by name at 19, 22, 26 and named at 30, is in conversation with a Chaireas, addressed by name at 31, possibly earlier at 5, and named later at 51–2, 59–60. Like our B, Chaireas has (or rather professes to have) a grievance over a woman: namely that the daughter of one Kleainetos, a man who is shortly to appear in the scene (he is addressed by name at 28), has been raped and taken from him by Moschion (13–17, 27–8); Moschion is Laches' son (30, 54; and see Sandbach on 10). This is fiction, and we should perhaps not worry too much whether Chaireas intends to imply that he was married to the girl, or, as seems more likely, betrothed. As emerges later (45–55), Moschion had in fact had a child by Kleainetos' daughter, and had agreed with Kleainetos to marry her, though without the knowledge and consent of Laches, his father and head of the family, and without there being any previous engagement to Chaireas. The effect of this fiction is greatly to blacken Moschion's situation, both by alleging a false grievance against him and by suppressing the consideration that Kleainetos has already agreed to a marriage. Again, since the situation is fictional, we need perhaps not ask here precisely what action (the dispute and the disgrace apart) Laches was supposed to fear from the parties allegedly aggrieved: it is enough that by Chaireas' deft timing it works to make him agree to the marriage in front of Kleainetos the moment it is mentioned: he feels that he has saved his son from serious peril (*φόβων ... ἐκ[λυκά]μενος*, 44 f.), and only with hindsight realises that he has been tricked (63–4). Can our B, C and D be, respectively, Chaireas, Kleainetos and Moschion?

At the cost of complicating matters still further, it seems worth a brief independent review of another fragment, whose connection with the *Fabula Incerta* has from time to time been considered, but is generally disallowed. PSI 1176 (Austin, *CGFP* 255, and Kassel-Austin *PCG* VIII. 1063) is part-marked (so it seems) for delivery by three voices, and could therefore be an excerpt and not a whole text. After the words *κοὶ πε]πιστευκῶς* (so Mette), ending the speech of a character whose identity is to be guessed, the part for Voice no. 1 has what has rightly been recognized as a reflective slave monologue in 23 trochaic tetrameters. The speaker rouses himself 'not to desert Moschion' (4) in the unexpected storm of troubles that has blown up, and makes an elaborate analogy (which some have thought un-Menandrian) with a ship in distress on which all aboard try to help in what way they can.² It is therefore Moschion who leaves the stage saying *κοὶ πε]πιστευκῶς*; the slave, having begun by seeing him off into the house with a cheerful 'Carry on, no worries', ends the speech as he sees his old master arriving with a

² The long image of seafaring in the slave's monologue now has its parallel in the *Samia* (206, cf. also fr. 656), and self-apostrophe is a well-attested form in Menander; Webster, *Introduction to Menander* (1974) 203, abandoning an earlier ascription to Philemon; but he goes on to rule out *Fab. Inc.* and suggests *Demiourgos*. For self-apostrophe, see Handley-Hurst, *Relire Ménandre* (Geneva 1990) at pp. 137 ff., and LIX 3967, Menander, *Misoumenos*, as discussed in ed.pr. by Margaret Maehler and by Geoffrey Arnott in the Loeb Menander, vol. 2 (1996) 332 ff.

companion, and hurries inside with the idea of confronting them later at a suitable moment:

.....] δρῶ γὰρ τουτονὶ τὸν δεσπότη[ν
καὶ τι]ν' [ἐπόμει]νον μετ' αὐτοῦ. θάπτον εἴσειμι' ἐνθάδε 22
παρα]φ[ανήσο]μαί τε τούτοις καιρὸν εὐφυνῆ λαβῶν.³

The old master is Laches, Voice 3; the companion who addresses him is Voice 2. Like our B, and like the Chaireas of *Fab. Inc.*, Voice 2 has a grievance: he has been insulted more gravely than anyone ever by being sent by Laches to convey to his son a parental message about marrying, and also to betroth his daughter. He had anticipated problems; and evidently he has met them.⁴ We cannot say how far he went in developing this subject before the slave makes the interruption that was foreshadowed in his exit-line. One insult must presumably lie in Moschion's refusal to contemplate the marriage proposed for him, and another, perhaps, in the refusal of the daughter's proposed husband to accept her. Whether Voice 2 has proposed himself as an alternative son-in-law and been rejected, we cannot here legitimately guess; that there is some considerable confusion in the family follows from the slave's impassioned word-picture of the storm, and may be confirmed by the mention of 'the mother' (never mind whose) in the remains of line 33. Can the aggrieved Voice 2 be the same as the Chaireas of *Fab. Inc.* and/or the same as B in our present fragment?

That the three pieces are closely related in motif is plain; but that is far from making them parts of the same play, to echo a verdict by Koerte (*Hermes* 72 (1937) at p. 73) on III 429 (Austin, *CGFP* 266; *PCG* VIII. 1010), another candidate for identification with the *Fabula Incerta*. It must be noted furthermore that the total extent of the three pieces, and the discernible content that they have in common fall a long way short of giving us a picture of a whole play. With the recovery of most of the *Samia*, we are well placed to observe how a situation, and the characters' reaction to it and to each other can be manipulated to show different facets to the audience as the play develops. Such considerations, and the reflection, in some words of Sir Eric Turner's, that 'Menander has not lost his capacity to surprise us', can reasonably be held to encourage the formation of hypotheses; they do not entitle us to substitute hypotheses for facts.

That said, we may attempt to show in outline how PSI 1176, the present fragment and *Fab. Inc.* could go together in that order, without either claiming decisively that they do, or that such a collocation can of itself explain all the detailed problems of these fragmentary and disputed remains.

³ For 22 (so *exempli gratia*) note *Dysk.* 558 f. παραλήφομαι τὸ μεράκιον τουτί ... καὶ τὸν θεράποντ' αὐτοῦ.

⁴ φέροντα περὶ γάμου 'bringing [a message] about his marrying' (not 'about his marriage'); note the third century examples from the Zenon archive in LSJ s.v. φέρω, A IV. 4; θυγατέρα without more specification should be Laches' daughter, not Chaireas' daughter; λαμβάνειν I take to mean simply 'marry', i.e. marry Laches' nominee, whoever she was, not marry his sister.

(i) PSI 1176: Moschion is in trouble. A slave of the household resolves to help his young master, and waits for a moment when he can intervene with Laches (recently returned from abroad), and Chaireas, who had previously been sent to arrange marriages both for the son, Moschion, and for the daughter of the house. Chaireas complains that this commission has been an unparalleled insult to him.

(ii) The present fragment starts from the position that there is cause for dissension between D (Moschion) and C (Kleainetos) over Moschion's ἀτοπία, his unacceptable behaviour. The basis for this, as seen by Laches, will have been the continuation of the dialogue with Chaireas which begins in PSI 1176 in col. ii at line 24, and seems to continue with the same speakers in col. iii: at 46, the line-beginning ὦ πρῶγμ[from Laches (Voice 3) suggests a strong emotional reaction to what he hears. Here, having remarked that differences are not to be reconciled by ignoring them, Chaireas is asked to intervene. He protests that he is being expected to act like a kinsman while being refused marriage with Laches' daughter. The refusal must be part of the unparalleled insult complained of in PSI 1176, and is now restated. Before Chaireas can do more than pray for Heaven's help, there is an interruption. The slave of PSI 1176, perhaps induced by raised voices of the pair, has found his anticipated moment. What he contributed to the situation we cannot tell. He must in effect have made it seem worse.

(iii) In *Fab. Inc.*, Chaireas embroiders, in whatever way he does, the Moschion/Kleainetos situation; he elaborates the fiction of his engagement to Kleainetos' daughter, and the injustice he has suffered from Moschion's taking her by force. When Laches remarks τί οὖν; ἀνᾶίνει τὴν ἐμὴν ἔχρει θυγατέρα; 'What? Are you renouncing my daughter?' (17 f.) he is, by a splendid comic irony, referring to the persistent and rejected claim of which we have heard earlier, which Chaireas could hardly pursue if involved in the way he now describes: he is in danger of being caught in his own trap.⁵ Laches is too worried to be suspicious, and when Kleainetos appears, he is bluffed into expressing approval for Moschion's marriage. When the fiction is exposed, Laches cries out loud at the way he has been manipulated. Kleainetos, for all the impression of him given to Laches by Chaireas, must to some extent have gone along with a plot to present Moschion's marriage to Laches in such a way that he could not withhold approval: disapproval, if lines 40 ff. are rightly so interpreted, is what he had been sure he would meet. At no great distance, if it belongs at all, may come the betrothal scene with a Chaireas and Moschion given by XXXI 2533 (Austin, *CGFP* 251; *PCG* VIII. 1098); the content we are discussing may then cover Act V and part of Act IV of the play, with Laches coming into the play relatively late, as does Sostratos' father Kallippides in *Dyskolos*; but of that, and of other more marginal possibilities (Moschion, Laches and

⁵ Editors differ over taking τί οὖν; separately, as here, or taking the question as a single utterance; but in either case 'as an offer to Chaireas of Laches' daughter the sentence is abrupt; it might be clearer if the play were complete'; so Sandbach ad loc. That puts it mildly. If Chaireas really were refusing the match, the motivation is hard to fathom.

Chaireas are all quite common names), no more can be said here.⁶ If we really are dealing with a play that survived in several copies of the kind represented by the fragments associated with it, it is likely to have been a famous one; the pity is that, so far as I can see, the present piece contributes no new data to the arguments over its possible title.

I am grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for the opportunity to produce a draft presentation of this text for the 21. Internationaler Papyrologenkongress, Berlin, 13–19. August 1995, and to colleagues there for discussions from which improvements and clarifications have come.

⁶ In XXXI 2533. 1 f., I should read οὐκ ἐστὶ, μὰ τὸν Ἡφαιστον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὶ μοι | ἀφεκ]τέον δῆπουθεν ἦς ἐρῶ πάλα[ι, in preference to the ἀπολειπ]τέον of ed.pr.

Fr. 1

1 πατ[.]μηθ[. . .] // // // //
 2 θυγατ[.]λφοσα // // // //
 3 τουτ' ἐκβιάσεται[. . .]γ[. . .]
 4 δικαί' α' μη συμφερεμηδε[
 5 εισταυτοναμφοτερου[. . .][. . .]
 6 [.]υτωσεχεις ουμηκολαζε[
 7 . . . ιν σεξελθωνσε: ταυτ[.
 8 ειωβ[. . .]ισαυτω[. . .]ελθεσω[
 9 τηνατοπιαντουτου[. . .]ποη[
 10 εσχηκενεξελθωντι[.
 11 προσγεγονεναυτωιταυτατ[. . .]
 12 αλλαξιουιλαχηςμεκηδεστη[. . .]
 13 αφελομενοςμετηνσεαυτου υγ[
 14 εγωγαραξιωτιννηφθ γγομαι :[
 15 καιτινιποτ' οψει προσσεαυτ νο[
 16 ψυχημιεπροσιοντ' ηπροσει[. . .]ε[.
 17 προπηλακιςθειςκαιετερο . . . α[.]την[
 18 ηδηγαρηγγυηκακαι[. . .]νεστι[
 19 αλλωσγενεσθαικ ιπωγαμους[.
 20 ωζευγενοιθ' οδειγενεσθαι καιθε[.
 21]υ ουσπαρωντισκυλλαβοι[. . .][π]φε[

1 [.] foot of a vertical

3 κ on twisted fibres;]γ or]π, perhaps followed by ε and another round letter

4 There is displacement, but apparently space and trace of diastole after -αι; high ink before μ does not suggest a letter, may perhaps be supralinear hyphen: see 4093.14 and note there

7 There is some distortion at a break: ἐκείνος suits

9 Between τουτου and ποη, allowing for distortion, there seems to be space for more than two letters; perhaps a dicolon plus two, the second apparently with a high curved top: ε

10 τυφ[(?)

15 [.] trace of high ink

16 -ειπει[-, with nothing lost, is possible

17 ετερο, then a descender on twisted fibres, then an upright, abraded at top

18]υ is credible; then upright and trace of arms for κ; next, foot of a round letter

19 αλ- (suggested by Wolfgang Luppe) rather than κα-; [.] trace of a letter, perhaps ε or ζ; or of a dicolon?

20 High ink for punctuation or dicolon; may be random. θεω[ν rather than θεσ[ς

21 [.] vertical and round letter; then apparently φ written over π; ψοφεῖ would do; but what before it? Punctuation? A dicolon? (It cannot be said if the line had a paragraphos or not). Or [τ]ζ?

Fr. 1

1 (B) πατή[ρ.]μηθ[. . .] // // // //
 2 θυγάτ[ηρ, ἀδε]λφός, α. // // // //
 3 τουτ' ἐκβιάσεται[. . .]γ[. . .]
 4 δίκαι' α' μη †συμφερε μηδε[
 5 εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρου[. . .][. . .]
 6 (La.) [ο]ὔτως ἔχεις οὐ μὴ κολάζειν
 7 ἐκείνος ἐξελθὼν σε: (B) ταὐτ[. . .] :(?La.) εὐ δὲ
 8 εἶσω βαδίσας αὐτῷ [δί]ελθε σω[φρόνων
 9 τὴν ἀτοπίαν τούτου[: ?] [.] ποη[- :(?La.)
 10 ἔσχηκεν ἐξελθὼν τι[.
 11 προσγένονεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα τ[. . .]
 12 (B) ἀλλ' ἀξιόις, Λάχης, με κηδεστὴν ἔχ[ειν
 13 ἀφελόμενός με τὴν σεαυτοῦ θυγ[άτερα];
 14 (La.) ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀξιῶ τι νῦν ἢ φθέγγομαι; :
 15 (B) καὶ τίτι ποτ' ὄψει πρὸς σεαυτὸν ὁ χ[αλεπὸς
 16 ψυχήμι με προσιόντ'; ἢ προσειπεῖ[ν ε' ὑπομενῶ
 17 προπηλακιςθεῖς, χἀτέρου τα[ύ]την [δρών];
 18 (La.) ἤδη γὰρ ἠγγύηκα, κ[ο]ῦκ ἔνεστι [νῦν
 19 ἄλλως γενέσθαι, καὶ ποῶ γάμους ἐ[γώ].
 20 (B) ὦ Ζεῦ γένοιθ' ὁ δεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ θεῶ[ν
 21 ε]ἴησιν παρών τις κυλλάβοι—ψοφε[ῖ δέ τις

(B) Father ... daughter, brother ... he will carry it by force ... justice; (?) those things that are discordant [?]should not be brought] together, but [?]take account] of each (5).

Laches So that's how you feel. No chance he will [?]be keen to] come out and reprove you.

(B) (?) Quite so.

Laches Go inside, and calmly go through the man's strange behaviour with him.

(B) He has done [dreadful things].

Laches [Perhaps] he had some [bad mood on him] when he went out (10), [and then] this happened to him as well...

(B) But Laches, do you expect to have me as your son-in-law, when you have taken your daughter away from me?

Laches Am I expecting anything, or saying anything?

(B) And with what feelings will you see me come near you, [hard as you are on me] (15)? Shall I [be able to bear] to speak to you, after being insulted and [seeing] her as someone else's?

Laches I have agreed the betrothal, and it cannot now be otherwise; and I am preparing for the wedding.

(B) O Zeus, let be what must be, and may some god (20) be kind and come and help—[but] there's a noise [of someone coming].

1 Perhaps πατή[ρ δέ, μάμ]μη, θ[ε]ο[ς ...]; προμάμ]μη would be too long.

4f Possibly ἀ μὴ συνέφερε—an easy mistake in handwriting of this kind; and then continue μηδὲ συντίθει | εἰς ταύτων, ἀμφοτέρου [δ]ῆ τ[ὸ] κείον κόπει, or τὴν φύσιν εἴβου or the like. The collocation of οὕτως ἔχει (6) with this gnomic pronouncement recalls *Dysk.* 379 f. οὕτως ἔχω· παραποθανεῖν ἤδη με δεῖ | ἢ ζῆν ἔχοντα τὴν κόρην.

6 E.g. κολάζειν σπουδάσει, to account for the οὐ μὴ.

7 See the Introduction above: B must take up at ταῦτα, but may say no more than ταῦτα δὴ 'Quite so', leaving Laches to preface his command with οὐ δέ.

9 Again, as in 7, the line may divide internally, to give a preface to the abrupt ἔσχηκεν of 10. A short syllable is called for after οὕτων: perhaps therefore something like [(B) π]επότη[κε δειν]. (La.) ἴσως...

10 If Laches is the speaker, as I suppose, one might expect some kind of an excuse: e.g. (on the lines of *Dysk.* 125 f. 'perhaps he's upset') ἔσχηκεν ἐξεθλῶν τιν['] ὀργήν, 'he left home angry ... and then this happened ...'; cf. *Dysk.* 53 ἢ τοῦτ' ἐβεβούλευε' ἐξιῶν, ἐρᾶν τινας;

18 f. [νῦν | ἄλλως (or [ἔτι | ἄλλως) Luppe: τοῦτ' or ταῦτ' (with elision as at S. *OT* 332-3) Rudolf Kassel; or ἔνεστ' ἴσως (ἴσως as at *Dysk.* 730)? 19 end: or ἔ[τι]?

21 The ψοφεῖ is not free from doubt, but the noise of opening doors often short-circuits a development which the dramatist would rather not continue: e.g. *Dysk.* 689 f, *Epir.* 554 f./874 f.

Fr. 2 + 3

1	] τω . [
2	] τ' η [
3	] . ειν [
4	] . μ . [
5	] . ιτρ [.] π . [
6	] οτουτ [
7	] . ειδετις :
8	] . σεστ' αρ . [
9	] . νθεων [
10	] . θυμια [
11	] ορει
12] .
13	] ταυτατις :
14	] . ι :
15	] ς
16	] . ου
17	] αλη

fr. 2 + 3: in 7, the second ε of ειδετις is shared between the joined fragments.

1 Last is foot of a vertical

3 A vertical, quite likely ι

4 Verticals either side of μ, as for ε]μί or ἡμ]ν

5 Descending oblique before ι, as for κ]αι τρ[ύ]πο[-], across the join

6 E.g. ἀτ]ὸ τοῦτ[ο

7] ., mid-line ink, as for ν]οεῖ, π]οεῖ or the like; at end, faint trace of a low dot suggests dicolon

9 E.g. πρὸς τ]ῶν θεῶν; above the ω, a particle of loose papyrus with ink

12 High dot of ink, top of dicolon or part of υ?

14] ., end of horizontal for]εῖ or]τε

16] ., end of oblique, as for]λ

Fr. 4

	. . .
1] . [
2] . [.] . [
3	] κ αι υ . [
	. . .

Fr. 4

3 Third is a vertical more like ι than part of ε, last also a vertical; if so crasis of και with (e.g.) ὕγις or a cognate; or υἰός; or ὑπέρ; or what?

E. W. HANDLEY

4410. COMEDY?

87/348(a)

Fr. 2 4.5 × 11.5 cm

Second century

The fragments published under this number and the next came from Mr Lobel in four folders, and the number of manuscripts represented is unclear. But two hands may be distinguished, and I have distributed the fragments between **4410** and **4411** accordingly. Both are accomplished and fairly large specimens of the calligraphic round upright strictly bilinear style conventionally known as 'Roman Uncial,' but the script of the pieces collected under **4410** is slightly larger, with slightly less interlinear space (so that in both scripts a given number of lines will occupy the same amount of vertical space, 7 cm for ten lines) but somewhat more generous lateral spacing. Other more or less consistent differences are also discernible, and may be taken as indicating different scribes. In **4410** ε's midstroke occupies a medial or lower position, whereas in **4411** it stands higher, usually in contact with the tip of the upper arc; ε's upper arc descends less far in **4410**, while in **4411** the letter tilts forward; the style's characteristically deep μ has more strongly curved legs in **4410**; π's top extends either side, whereas in **4411** it is more confined; ρ has a larger circlet; τ's cross-bar is equidistant either side, while in **4411** it tends to be shorter to the left; α is more widely splayed and straight-backed. Both hands add light ornamentation. Both may be dated in the second century, I would judge around the middle. **4411** might be put earlier on the basis of the closed epsilon, but I am doubtful of that as a criterion. (The development of the style is traced by Cavallo, *ASNP* ser. 2 36 (1967) 209-20, with the qualifications of *Scriptorium* 26 (1972) 73 n. 10, Turner *GMAW* no. 13 n., Parsons, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 379.)

The paragraphos and the double-point jointly used to signal (presumably) speaker-change are both exceptionally small. The only other punctuation in evidence is a stop

in middle position (fr. 2.3), and the only other lectional sign an apparent grave accent (again fr. 2.3). Unobtrusive correction of orthography occurs at fr. 2.4 and 14, of apparent scribal error at fr. 3.6, all perhaps but not certainly by the first hand. Of the upper margin 3.3 cm. survives on fr. 1. The back is blank.

A premium-grade product such as this should carry a work of high literature. Drama is clearly indicated by the speaker-changes marked in fr. 1, 3 and 4, and the language and action of fr. 1 smack perhaps of Old Comedy. The other pieces are less revealing. Satyr-play should perhaps not be excluded, but I see nothing favouring such an assignment over comedy.

I am most grateful to Dr C. F. L. Austin and Professor E. W. Handley for their help with this number and the next.

Fr. 1

] . ιουτασκωμματα [
] προβακατωτερω: [
] κρουκα[.] . [] [
] . [] . [] . υ [

1] ., ε, θ (ε, ο) 3, 4 Fibres loose and deranged; a few specks might belong to a subsequent line or lines

Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4
] ος [.] . ων [	·	] . ηςετ [
] γονδυσ [	μ [	] . η: κυ [
] ουτ . ν . ει [	τ . [	] μ . [
] κω' ουμε [	πρ [
5] σαγ . ελο [	αλλ [
] ουτονμη [	5 ορ [
] αυνωι γ [	α ^λ γε [
] ωτην . [	που [
] τοις . [	αλλ [
10] θεραπο [	επε [
] των [	10 θο . [
] . οκα . [	εφ . [
] ακατ [
] η'ς . [

Fr. 2 Not certainly column top. There is a certain amount of casual scattered ink throughout the fragment. 2 Above δ is what may be a cancellation dot, and the letter may have been lightly crossed through, but there is much scattered ink in the vicinity; an apostrophe (and a trema on the υ) is also possible 3 τ, υ, mostly hole, space and trace suitable for ο 5 γ, foot suitable for γ 7 Between ι and υ, mostly or wholly blank, perhaps a stop 8], extreme left of υ? 9], ε or θ 14], perhaps a middle stop, then a supralineation, a rough breathing?

Fr. 3 11], ρ?

Fr. 4 1], broken right of π? 2], δ, λ, or α 3], ο or ω

Fr. 5

Fr. 6

Fr. 7

Fr. 8

] υμαχο . [

] ε . [

] τι: . [

] . ης [

] γαντε . [

] ρμεδια . [

] ωπ [

] [

Fr. 5 1] υ, a trace above, perhaps from the previous line ο], ο diminished, what follows suggests the left side of an equally diminished ε 2], an upright on the edge

Fr. 6 1], ε or θ 2], stem of τ?

Fr. 7 1], stem of γ?

Fr. 1

Iambic trimeters or trochaic tetrameters. The relatively even line-ends perhaps favour the shorter.

1 Probably οὐ or *cou* before τὰ κώμματα. If the former, preceded perhaps by a noun in -*cic* (cf. Eur. *El.* 941 for the structure?). Generically self-referential mention of κώμματα would be at home in a comic parabasis (Aristoph. *Nub.* 542, cf. e.g. *Vesp.* 1289, *Pax* 736–61), but not exclusively there.

2 'Go on further down.' E.g. καί] would provide a caesura. πρόβα only Aristoph. *Ach.* 262 (trimeter) and Eur. *Alc.* 872 (lyric). κατωτέρω Aristoph. *Ran.* 70, 1384, Alexis fr. 177.2, 3 K-A.

3 κοὐ κατωτέρω one possibility.

Fr. 2

If iambics (or trochaics), we may be in the vicinity of the caesura, or else one metron further along.

3 τοῦτον, τοιοῦτον? Similarly 6, unless there οὐ τὸν, which I do not think probable.

4 οὐ]κ ὄιον likelier than Κώιου (in whatever sense)? The adscript is explicable in either case. Then με might give a 4th-foot caesura.

7 κερ]αυνώι here would cohere with αἰ]θέρα in 10, but there are other good possibilities for either place (e.g. 7 χ]αύνωι, 10 θεραπ-), and several comic playwrights have a Πύρανος attested for them (Euphanes, Aristophan, Alexis).

Fr. 3

Iambics? And since there appear to be no speaker identifications—but the break comes too close to the line-beginnings for certainty—we may perhaps infer only two speakers.

6 The lambda is a subsequent addition. If e.g. ἀλγεῖς rather than e.g. ἀλγεῖων the slip (assuming it to be such) is the more readily explicable.

Fr. 5

1 ναύμαχος, θρασύμαχος, a proper name?

The diminution of the last two extant letters, presumably the last letters of the line, is somewhat surprising in a verse text, where the inherent variability of the line lengths normally relieves the scribe of the concern to achieve a justified right margin. In prose texts the practice is common; V 844 (Isocrates), another calligraphic Roman Uncial manuscript, shows the regularity that can be attained. What makes this case still odder is the fact that the next line must have been longer, unless, as Handley suggests, the present line extended further (e.g. -]μαχος [τις ων). 4411 seems to show the same phenomenon (fr. 90.9).

M. W. HASLAM

4411. OLD COMEDY

87/349, 350(a), and 351

Fr. 2 5.5 × 8 cm

Second century

These fragments are written in a Roman Uncial rivalling the Hawara Homer in elegance and fineness of execution; see the introduction to 4410. It cannot be regarded as assured that all the pieces are of a single manuscript, and special doubt attaches to some of the contents of folder 351 (fr. 84–95), but I see nothing that would seriously tell against an assumption that at least most of the fragments come from the same work. As with 4410, it is clear that the text is Attic drama, and again ascription to Old Comedy seems indicated. The diction in general is suggestive of comedy rather than tragedy; expressions recognizable with varying degrees of probability include *ὦ μέλε* (fr. 23.3) and *ὠναξ Ἡ[ράκλει* (fr. 26.3); we have *βολβοῦ*[c at fr. 41.2, perhaps *έλλε]βορι*(-) at fr. 72.1, and a good chance of the word *ψωλό*c at fr. 42.3; the high-flown *ἀστραπηφο*[at fr. 2.5 will be paratragic. Most if not all of the fragments are or may be iambic trimeter or trochaic tetrameter, with frequent resolution and frequent change of speaker within the line; but it looks as if other metres are to be recognized in fr. 1, fr. 2 and fr. 18, cf. also fr. 6, 11, 23. I have not managed to find anything favouring attribution to any particular play or playwright, nor can I make any solidly based suggestion as to overall subject-matter.

The scribe applies accents and breathings with discrimination (fr. 5.1, fr. 6.5, fr. 7.2, fr. 9.4, etc.), and often but it seems not invariably (fr. 15.2, fr. 23.5, fr. 36.2) marks elision. Punctuation is by high-middle point. Also in evidence are the double point and the paragraphus, used (presumably) in conjunction to signal speaker change, as is conventional. Cancellations of single letters are discreetly effected by lightly crossing through the letter and placing a dot above (fr. 1.4, fr. 15.2, fr. 48.1, all orthographical). It appears to be the scribe himself who has made the corrections, and I see no sign of textual intervention by a second hand. There are however a few remnants of annotations, by I think more than one hand (fr. 7, fr. 61, fr. 3.3). The lower margin appears to have been at least 6.5 cm (fr. 8, similarly fr. 1, fr. 14), in keeping with the de luxe quality of the manuscript. Of the upper, 2.5 cm survives on fr. 4. The back is blank, which is to say, this splendid manuscript was not reused.

Other comedy manuscripts in Roman Uncial, none of them however by this particular hand, are PSI XI 1212 (Cratinus), XXXVII 2807 (Old Comedy), and LIX 3972 (comedy).

Fr. 1

].].]δα.].
]κολιαι[
]εαγραι[
].εκ.ρα[ι]c [

Fr. 2

]αι [.
]ναι [.
]ωμασεμ[
]εσποτα[

Fr. 3

].].
]πορευ. [.
].αυτωικ[

5]σαι [.
]νικνωμα[.
5]αστραπηφο. [.
]υδων [.
]. . . αιομματα. [.
]επασδει . . . [.
].απορω [.
10]ρομενο[.
]. [.

FR. 1–41 are from folder 87/350

Fr. 1 1 . . . [, lower part of upright, foot of oblique 4] . , letter-top dot or tip of horizontal
Between κ and ρ (loop only) a medium-sized letter, abradedFr. 2 5 . . . [, letter-top speck, broken below 7] . . . , two isolated letter-foot traces, then lower parts and upper right speck of ?χ, rather narrow for κ . . . [, upright with suggestion of horizontal at top, γ, π? 8 . . . [, scattered remains on damaged surface 9] . , upright, clear at top, ι or ν suggested
After ι, fibres damaged, but apparently blankFr. 3 Line beginnings, with vestiges of marginalia immediately to the left of 3, perhaps a tiny]^ε with]^ο below. Paragraphi uncertain. . 2 . [, ο or c

Fr. 4

]ε·δωσειγαρδικη[
]υχιδωσει·αλ. . ν. [.
].ορων·ματο[
].λατηγ. [

]ε·δώσει γὰρ δίκη[ν
ο]ὐχὶ δώσει· ἀλλὰ νῦ[ν
].ορων. — μὰ το[
].λατηγ. [

Fr. 5

]έντιουδε[
].ζεστωη[
]υκληρο[

Fr. 4 3] . , γ or τ 4] . , letter-foot speck . . . [, oblique descending from upper left, υ suggested, α, λ not excluded

Fr. 5 2] . , upper right of arc, ο, ω

Fr. 6

]. [.
]. . νου. [.
]συνίησθακ. [.
].λελαθ:α[

Fr. 7

] . [.
]τρατη. []αα. [.
]. . νος[] . [.
] . [.
] . cω. [.

5]νίαισα.[]
] . [.] . ις[]
] . []
] . []

εἰτ' []
] . []

Fr. 6 This fragment more resembles fr. 84-95 in appearance: the writing gives a slightly blurred impression, owing in part to an apparently worn nib and in part to subsequent abrasion
 the line, first perhaps μ, second ε, ο? 2] . , two arcs on
 3] . , apparent oblique rising from end of lower leg of κ
 4] . , upper right of ε? Double point doubtful; but apostrophe not suggested 5] . , left hasta
 of ν? 6] . , γ, τ? 7 Perhaps μ, otherwise two letters

Fr. 7 Column top, apparently 1] . [, lower and upper left tips of μ?

Fr. 8] . ω . []] αιτ[]] ειτα[]	Fr. 9] . [. .] ος . . []] η : συτεκ[]] συδ' εδεξ[]] : μη ταυτα μ . []	Fr. 10] . [. .] ος . . []] η . — συ τεκ[]] συ δ' εδεξω []] — μη ταυτα μ . [] 5] ποι . . . []	Fr. 11] αλλ[]] ουδ[]] απα[]] κ αιτη . [] 5]] ποι . . . []
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Fr. 8 1] . , μ?] . [, tallish upright on edge, ι?

Fr. 9 Perhaps in alignment with fr. 3

Fr. 10 5] . . [, upper parts of αν?

Fr. 11] νυγαρπ[]] ωφανερω[]] κουμεγα[]] ολμησει[] 5] εγαραντο[]	Fr. 12] ουταψ[]] ως . []	Fr. 13] . [. .] . [. .] . []] πα [.] άν . []] . ε . [.] . ου[]] . . . [] . . []	Fr. 14] τουτ[]] τηγαρ[]] δακρυω[]
--	------------------------------------	--	--

Fr. 11 1] . [, base of ε, ο? 5 Between αν and το a dot, casual rather than a stop or separator?

Fr. 13 Two small fragments which range horizontally; the central gap (2 [.] etc) may be wider than shown 2 α, supposed accent a speck in appropriate position with hole to right] . [, trace at letter-top level

Fr. 14 Evidently line beginnings

Fr. 15] υκομιας[]] ταποτ[] ε[] ις[]] τοπραγμα[]	Fr. 16] αλλου . []] κακοδ[]] ειτου[]] εγωφ[] 5] υμας . []
--	--

Fr. 15 2] . , upright on edge 3] . , upper part of upright
 Fr. 16 5] . [, double point? upper and lower serifs of upright?

Fr. 17] εν[.] . []] τεδαρ[]] ιχ' θε . []] . τρ[]	Fr. 18] μιζω . []] . ιται . []] ρεις[]] []	Fr. 19] . []] γ . []] ε[]] μ . [] 5] . [.] . []
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Fr. 17 3] . , upper right of ε or ρ] . [, hooked foot of upright
 Fr. 18 1] . [, lower part of upright 2] . , ε suggested, otherwise θ, ο, c 3 ε[, or ο

Fr. 20] τα . []] . []	Fr. 21] γ . []] ντ[]] δο[]	Fr. 22] ε[]] μοιδ[]] ξοϋ[]
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Fr. 22 1] , lower parts of letters: upright; ε or c; two uprights e.g. ιτ

Fr. 23] . οη[]] []	Fr. 24] το[]] ομμ[]	Fr. 25] αλ . []] επε[]
------------------------------	-------------------------------	----------------------------------

	]ωμέλε.[	κα[].[
	]ου'εεττη[	ca.[	.
5	]ι'καίση[	.	.

Fr. 23 1], foot of apparent upright

Fr. 24 4], upper left tip as of τ, υ

3], slightly curving upright

Fr. 26

].[].[
	]μοιτῶμ.ρα[	]μοι τῶ μ<ε>ιρα[κ-
	]ς.ω.αξ.[	]ς. — ὠναξ η[
	]ν:ουχο.οντ.[	]ν. — οὐχ οἶόν τε.[
5	]χεινῦδηβ.[	]χειν εἰ δηβ.[
	]ς.[.]ιτασς[	]ς.[.]ιτασς[

2 μ, ρ, letter-foot speck, space suitable for ι, hardly for υ 3]ς, or ε? then parts of two uprights, υ?
], broken upright, foot of another upright, unclear whether one letter or two 4 Above first ο, an
 unexplained mark like a flattened τ φ, letter-top speck suitable for i.a. ι, λ, ρ, not c], first
 lower left arc, ε?, second foot of apparent upright 5], ε or ο 6], top of π?], δ, λ, α

Fr. 27

]ιουδ[
].φ[

Fr. 28

]ςπερε.[.]αχ.[
]πο.λω:[
].σακο.[

Fr. 29

ηρε[
 και[
 αυτ[

Fr. 27 1], θ, ο or c

2], ο, ε, θ

Fr. 28 1], serif at foot, seriffed foot of upright, suitable for ιτ], trace of apparent arc as of

ε, ο, not α

3], trace of high horizontal or flattened top arc (e.g. υ)

Fr. 29 1 ε[, or θ[

3 α, or λ

Fr. 30

].[
]δ'ε.[
] [

Fr. 31

].[
].τοιυυ.[
].[

Fr. 32

] [
]εν [

Fr. 30 2], χ suggested

Fr. 31 1], perhaps]υδ[

2], compatible with υ

Fr. 33

].[
]δομενοι[
] [
].[

Fr. 34

...ο[
 επε.[
] [
].[

Fr. 35

] [
]σκοπει[
]γωφρασω[
].[

Fr. 33 4 Two specks, unclear whether letter-tops or not; 2 may be column foot

Fr. 34 1 Letter feet, of uncertain distribution

2], θ or c suggested

Fr. 35 Top of column?

Fr. 36

]μματ[
]λλαιδυπ[

Fr. 37

]ουδ[
]εινα.[
] [
] [
] [

Fr. 38

]αδ.[
]εγο.[

Fr. 38 1], foot of ι?

2 φ looks like c, could be ε?

],[letter-top speck, τ or υ?

Fr. 39

]φ[
]αα[
]αυτ[
]αι[
 5]ου[

Fr. 40

]αζ[
]αλλ[
].ολ[

Fr. 41

].[] [
].βολβο.[
]ατιθ.[

Fr. 41 1 Final trace hooked foot of upright trace, upsilon?

2], upright, clear at top, ι?

],[high hooked

3], edge of apparent arc, ε?

Fr. 42	Fr. 43	Fr. 44
]πλην.[	.	.
]ποτε[	]υπα.[]...[
]ψωλο[	]ροσηκο[	]κανειη[
]κατ[	]καιτυφ.[	]μενη·δε[
.	]...[	]ν.[

Fr. 42-83bis are from folder 87/349. I see nothing except their generally greater scrappiness that distinguishes them from fr. 1-42.

Fr. 42 Not certainly column top 1] , ε or θ

Fr. 43 1] , foot of τ? 2 ο[, ε not excluded

3] , top perhaps of ο, ε, θ; λ excluded

Fr. 44 4] , ε or θ

Fr. 45	Fr. 46	Fr. 47
.	.	.
]τ[	]καλ.[]...[
]...[	]τιπ...[	]υβω[
.	.	]ω[

Fr. 46 1] , lower left of ε, ο, θ, c

Fr. 48	Fr. 49	Fr. 50
.	.	.
]...[	]ρο[	]νε[
]λθακ.[	]c'αμ[	]ωπ[
]...[.	.

Fr. 48 1 Cancellation not quite certain: letter seems lightly crossed through, superior cancel dot will be lost 2] , lower left arc suitable for ο or ω

Fr. 51	Fr. 52	Fr. 53
.	.	.
]...[	]ε[	]μ[
]υχα[	]...[	]οιμη[
]νμ[	.	.
]οι[	.	.
] [.	.
] [.	.

Fr. 51 3] , tip of medial horizontal

Unexplained ink to top right of μ

Fr. 53 1] , ο, ω, θ

Fr. 54	Fr. 55	Fr. 56
.	.	.
]φυρ[	]μνο[]...[
]τιπλ[	.	]απιω.[
.	.	.
Fr. 57	Fr. 58	Fr. 59
.	.	.
]νεμ[	]...[	]cτα[
]ερο[	]ceγ.[	]οcτι[
]μο.[	]cο.[	]ac.[
]α·η.[	.	.

Fr. 57 4 α , speck at high letter-top level above hole] , left of arc as of θ, c

Fr. 58 2] , upper left of υ? 3] , upper parts of η?

Fr. 59 2 τι[, unexplained ink to top right of ι 3] , γ or τ suggested

Fr. 60	Fr. 61	Fr. 62
.	.	.
]...[	]α[	]ραε[
]ουνα[	]τεcτι[	]α[
.	.	.

Fr. 62 1] , γ or τ

Fr. 63	Fr. 64	Fr. 65
.	.	.
]α[	]π.[	]να.[
]...[	]υτω[	]co.[
.	.	.

Fr. 63 1] , right tip of e.g. γ

Fr. 65 1] , ι or ν suggested

2] , top of apparent upright

] , high letter-top trace to

immediate right of ο, υ?

Fr. 66	Fr. 67	Fr. 68
.
] [	] . [	] π [
] α ρ π ο [	] α [	] μ α [
] η' μ . [	] γ α ν [	] α π α . [
.] . . . [.

Fr. 68 3] . [, left tip of τ?

Fr. 69	Fr. 70	Fr. 71
.
] . . . [	] ζ [	] . ν [
] ο α ι . [	] μ α [	] ο ν . [
.

Fr. 69 2] . [, γ or π suggested
Fr. 71 2] . [, ε or θ

Fr. 72	Fr. 73	Fr. 74
.
] β ο ρ ι ζ . [] . . . [] . [
] δ η ξ [	] γ γ α ρ [	] τ ο [
] ο [	] . . [	] ς υ [
.

Fr. 72 1] . [, letter-foot speck, close to ζ 2] . [, upper part of slightly sloping stroke, α?
Fr. 73 1 Lower parts of letters, first two e.g. ελ, εα

Fr. 75	Fr. 76	Fr. 77
.
] μ η [	] δ [	] ε ν . [
] η γ λ [	] γ ν [	] ο δ [
] . [	] ε ζ [	. . . . .
.

Fr. 77 1] . [, left tip of τ?

Fr. 78	Fr. 79	Fr. 80
.
] γ . [	] α π λ [	] α λ . [
] α λ [	] . [	. . . . .
.

Fr. 78 1] . [, right tip of ν?
Fr. 80 1] . [, γ, τ?] . [, α, λ

Fr. 81	Fr. 82	Fr. 83	Fr. 83bis
.
] μ . [	] . [	] ο υ ν [	] ρ η [
] α . [	] λ [.] μ [	. . . . .	] . [
] . . [	] ο ν [	. . . . .	. . . . .
] κ . [	] κ ρ ο [	. . . . .	. . . . .
.	5] ω τ α δ . [	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	] α τ ο δ ε χ [	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	] ω τ . [	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 82 3] . [, δ?, anomalously thick

Fr. 84	Fr. 85	Fr. 86
.
] ς ι . [	] . [	] ε θ [
] ι κ [	] κ α ι . [	] μ α [
] . ρ . . [.] . ε [	] η ν π [] . . . [
] α θ ε ι α ν π [	] ω θ υ [	] α τ ο . . [
5] λ η ν α . φ λ . [	5] ω ζ [	5] ρ ε θ ε . . [
] δ ε [	] . [	] α ς δ ο ι ς [
] . [.] [
.

Fr. 84-95 are from folder 87/351. Cf. at fr. 6 above. They may not all belong here.

Fr. 84 2] . [, upright of ν, π? 3 Substantial traces in damaged context 4] . [, lower right corner of δ? 5 α . , damaged traces with apparent trema above; ι would not account for all the ink; perhaps a cancellation λ, or α 6 Letter-top traces (first α, λ?), then damaged supralineation before δ 7] . [, supralineation
Fr. 85 2] . [, lower left of μ? 6 α, δ, λ

Fr. 86 Abraded 2 Ink between the letters at letter-top level unaccounted for, not apostrophe
 3 Perhaps]ορω[, but that does not account for all the ink 5]..[, first damaged feet, perhaps α,
 second ο or c 7]..[, φ or ψ

Fr. 87	Fr. 88	Fr. 89
]. φρη[.] [	]. . [	]οφ . . . [
]ναχ . . [	]του . [	]ολλασ . [
]πινα . . [	]υτο[	] . αςμ . . [
]οικω[ .	] . τη . [	]εο . . . [
	5]ντ[] [

Fr. 87 2]..[, first λ, α, second letter-foot trace, apparent oblique letter-top horizontal, τ?
 Fr. 88 4]..[, dicolon or tips of κ?
 Fr. 89 This fragment resembles fr. 90, and the same doubt attaches to it

Fr. 90	Fr. 91	Fr. 92
]. . [	] [	]ε . [
]ν [	] . [	]μ . . [
] . . . [	] [	]τοι . . [
] . μ . [	]ςω [
5 ] . . . [	5] . κρ . [
] . . . [	] . ες [
] . . . θ[	] . ε [
] . [c.5]υσαγ[	] . α [
] . το[c.4] . . εο . [	]ν[] [
10]μω[c.4] . αυτο . [
] ε [
]ταξασε . . ο[
] . αιεκτιωος[
]δεωσδο . [
15]φα . . ω . [

Fr. 90 I am not at all certain that this fragment, which is in poor condition, is rightly included here
 7]..[, perhaps ευ 9]..[, c diminished at line end? 11 Various assignable letter-feet
 Fr. 91 1-3 Perhaps column top, with the speck of ink casual, but ink may be lost to abrasion

Fr. 93	Fr. 94	Fr. 95
.
]αλε . [	] . τ . [	]τ . [
]εσα[	] . ομ[	] . ιε[
] . . [] . [.

Fr. 94 1] . , upright

Fr. 1
 A run of anapaests (dimeters), catalectically closed at 5 or 6?
 2-3 κρεάγρας seems probable in 3 (though the reading is not quite secure; if right there is also γαλεάγ-
 ρας), in which case κολίαί 'coly-mackerels' (LSJ) should perhaps be recognized in 2 rather than the obvious
 alternatives σκολιαί and e.g. δυσκολία. We find κολίαί in a list of food-fish at Aristoph. fr. 430 K-A, cf.
 Epicharm. fr. 62 K.
 4 (-)τε κόρας a possibility.
 6 π]ύκνωμα (or -ματ-)? The alternative is to divide before μα; that would mean a longer line and a
 disregarded adscript (πυκνώ, κύκνω). πυκνώμασι Timocles fr. 17.3 K-A, of Hyperides' oratory; in fishy context,
 as it happens.

Fr. 2
 Most of the lines could be trimeters, or more probably, in view of the unevenness of the line-lengths,
 trochaic tetrameters. But line 7 is unamenable, unless we are to recognise scriptio plena (καὶ ἄμμι-
 κῶμμι-), which I think unlikely. Perhaps anapaests (tetrameters) or hexameters commence at 7, or (since there
 is no stop at the end of 6) at 6. If 9 απορωι does indeed end the line, anapaests seem indicated. But the
 discrepancies in length are somewhat troubling, and 7 is still difficult.
 3 Handley writes: ?γν]ώμας ἐμ[οί. M. Dysk. 817 τί μοι λέγεις γνώμας; and Asp. 414 γνωμολογείε, τρισάθλιε;
 could be relevant, the former referring to elevated sententiousness, the latter to elevation marked by paratra-
 gedgy; but for Old Comedy, see (e.g.) Ar. Clouds 321, and γνωμοτυπικός, Knights 1379, where (both times) the
 reference is to rhetoric. With ἀστραπηφορ[in 5 and κλ]ύδων (or ἐπηλ]ύδων?) in 6, the Aspis passage and context
 may give the best lead.
 4 δ]εσπότας.
 5 ἀστραπηφορ[-: elevated diction. Aristophanes lifts ἀστραπηφορεῖ from Euripides at Pax 722, cf. Eur.
 Bac. 3 ἀστραπηφόρω πυρί.

6 If the upsilon is short, little but κλ]ύδων offers itself: again high-flown. But it may be long.
 7 ff. See above. In 8 χαλ]επάς is quite possible; after that, δει . αι . [, δει . απ[or the like, apparently
 not δεινάς.
 10 If anapaestic, Handley suggests ὀδυ]ρομενο[.
 Fr. 3
 Iambic, apparently, and dialogue, but the putative paragraphi are very faint. There is no sign of a
 paragraphus beneath 2, so the traces in the margin of 3 are presumably something other than a nota personae.

Fr. 4
 Dialogue in trimeters or trochaic tetrameters, probably verse-ends but possibly one metron further back.
 2 E.g. οὐκ ἔσθ' ἔπας κύ γ' ο]ἴχι?
 3 -ος ἔν? Then μὰ τὸ[ν Δία or μὰ το[ῦθε θεούς.
 4 The letter following γ seems slightly better suited to υ than to α or λ: a woman, then? (E.g. ἐὰν
 στρατηλατῆι γυνή? But other possibilities are numerous.) There is a female, or at least a feminine, in fr. 23
 (4 -ους').
 Fr. 5
 1 ἔν τί σου (or τι σου) likelier than ἔν τις οὐ(δέ)? Aristoph. Vesps. 437 ἔν (ἐν codd.) τί σοι παγήσεται; ἔν τι

twice among the remains of Antiphanes, fr. 189.21 K-A, fr. 245.1 K-A, in the same position. δε[could be part of δέομαι, e.g. δέ[ομαι τόδε (Handley); or e.g. δέ[δοικ' ἐγώ (cf Eur. *Andr.* 362).

3 να]υκληρο[a possibility, along with e.g. ο]ῦ, c]ῦ.

Fr. 6

3 *υνίηc*. It does appear to be a trema over the iota, not a cancellation dot, to give *υνίηcθa*. So then part of θάκος, θακέω, seemingly. Or we could consider *υνίηcθa*: Handley adduces *Il.* 10.67 ἴηcθa and contemplates *υνίηcθa* κα[κοίω and 4 (οῦ)]λέλαθ' ἄ[λγεια πάcθων, with perhaps ἀνάιαι (with either short or epic long iota) in 5. The dactylic metre would compound the doubts already raised by this fragment's appearance: the piece may not be rightly grouped with this set of fragments.

4 λέλαθ', apparently; then a doubtfully read double point.

Fr. 7

mag. 1 c]πρατηγ[ε]a, seemingly, followed by a and a suspension.

Fr. 9

2 κύ τε or e.g. κύ τεκ[νίδιον]?

4 ταῦτα: the accent disambiguates ταῦτά from ταῦτα.

Fr. 10

Iambic dialogue.

Fr. 11

Metre uncertain: anapaests likeliest?

1 π[ά]νυ γάρ.

2 φανερῶ[ε] probable, with]ω either ἐγώ or verb (cf Ar. *Thesm.* 431), or (Handley) οὔτ]ω.

3 'Big,' 'Megarian,' or 'me'? 5 is presumably]ε (e.g. c]ε or a verb) γάρ αὐτο[.

4 τ]ολμήσει (or -ει[ε], τ]όλμηc.

Fr. 14

3 If iambs, δακρύω[ν noun, not verb.

Fr. 15

1 κοίαιc or -αcθαι.

2 Since ποτιc-, if part of ποτίζω or cognate, would be unlikely to be written with ει, I presume ἀποστ(ε)ικ-, future or aorist, despite the lack of apostrophe. E.g. εἶτ' preceding.

Fr. 16

Iambic duologue, evidently.

1 ἀλλ' οὐ is quite possible; any apostrophe will have gone.

2 κακοδ[αιμον(-)] presumable.

4 Perhaps ἐγὼ φ[ράσω (cui), in response to the query of 3 εἰ (where articulation as εἰ τοῦ rather than εἶτ' οὐ is encouraged by the lack of diacritics). Cf. fr. 35.3, Ar. *Thesm.* 189. The paragraphus does not necessarily mean that speaker-change coincides with line-beginning, but that seems a good assumption, both here and at 2.

Fr. 17

3 The apparent tiny η above the line between χ and θ (yielding τείχη?, χῆ?) implies unlikely error, and is perhaps best ignored; it does not look like a reference mark for a scholium. (-)μ]εἰχθεἰ[ε(-), -θέν[τ-, or (-)δ] seems likely; χθέε excluded.

Fr. 18

Spondaic endings? (2 -εἶται infinitely less promising than -εἶται or -οἶται.) In that case, probably anapaestic tetrameter, the parabasis? Cf fr. 2.

1 Participle -ζων?

Fr. 22

3 If οῦ, I would have expected not the accent alone. (-)ξοῦ(-) in extant Aristophanes yields only (-)φευξοῦμαι and δορυξοῦ. Also available are e.g. εὐδοξοῦcα and Ξοῦθoc.

Fr. 23

2 A short line, apparently; a gap would be anomalous. The end of lyrics, with stichic lines following? It should perhaps be explicitly said that line 1 cannot be read as part of χοροῦ.

3 ὦ μέλε unelided in extant Aristophanes only at verse-end.

4 εcτη[κ(αc), sim.?

Fr. 25

2 Perhaps e.g. ἐπε[ετι or something more exotic, since ἐπειτα would hardly merit an accent.

Fr. 26

This fragment perhaps comes from the foot of the column of which fr. 4 gives the top, but I cannot confirm it.

2 τὸ μῦρα[κίω—which if these are trimeters will occupy the second metron—or μῦρα[κ(ε) seems probable.

3 After the initial traces (prima facie]ε . . ., but perhaps]ογ:] ὠγαξ Ἡ[ράκλειc is attractive; several times in Aristophanes. That implies a male speaker. Line-end is the normal but not the invariable position.

4 οὐχ οἶόν τ(ε) not inevitable but very appealing. I can make no sense of what stands above the first ο.

5 The odds must be on (-)ξ]χεω, despite numerous (though metrically limited) other possibilities. εὐ δὴ would be odd, and εὐ δ' ἠβ. [(ῆ?) is available; any apostrophe would be lost.

6 τοῦ]c π[ο]λίταc would fit, but I cannot say uniquely.

Fr. 28

1 ὠcπερεἰ ταχ- seems likely.

2 Presumably ἄ]πόλλω rather than πολλῶ, given the lack of adscript; and very probably νῆ or μὰ τὸν Ἄ.

Fr. 35

2 ε]γὼ φράσω, cf fr. 16.4.

Fr. 41

2 -β' δλβο- not only seems unlikely in itself but is discommended by the absence of an apostrophe. We

may recognize βολβοῦ or more probably βολβοῦ[ε].

3 παρ]ατίθε[ται may be worth a mention, given Antiphanes fr. 61 K-A παρατίθειν ... βολβοῦc.

Fr. 42

1 πλῆν or e.g. δι]πλή[ν].

3 It should be borne in mind that the articulation could be -ψω λο- rather than ψωλο-. The latter three times in Aristophanes and seemingly attested for Diphilus (fr. 38 K-A).

Fr. 43

1 ἐc]τῶν probable, 2 προσηc-, 3 τύφος, τύφω, or cognates.

Fr. 44

2 Perhaps ο]ῦκ ἂν εἶη, 3 apparently -ο]υμένη.

Fr. 48

2 μ]αλθακ-

Fr. 62

1 γράεc, apparently, scriptio plena being unlikely; conceivable match with Aristoph. fr. 364 K-A.

Fr. 72

1 I cannot quite exclude βόριαι or βορίαι[ε i.e. βορει- (for the spelling cf. fr. 26.2 μῦρα[κ-), but the letter after βορι does appear to be sigma rather than omicron, and I imagine we should recognize an aorist form of ἐλλεβορίζεω. ἐλλε]βοριcα[looks likely; not -βοριcθ-; a palaeographically acceptable alternative would be ἐλλε]βοριcμ[ός, but that is a more exclusively medical term. We may probably discount e.g. βορ]βοριcα[if a comic poet had used such a word we might expect to hear of it in the lexicographical tradition (as with ἐλλεβοριάν, attested for Callias). A Ἐλλεβορίζόμενοι is attested for Diphilus (fr. 30 K-A; no attested fragments or Latin adaptations), but it would be rash to assign our fragments to it. πῖθ' ἐλλεβορον Ar. *Vesp.* 1489, cf. Men. fr. 63 K.

2 Madmen may bite (δηξ-); but the articulation may be (-)δη ξ-.

Fr. 82

4 μ]ικρο[, π]ικρο[.

Fr. 86

5 ἐθεἶc[θε?

Fr. 87

2 Perhaps (ἀ]να)χαλ[-.

3 πῖναξ? But e.g. κατό]πιω cannot be excluded.

Fr. 89

2 π]ολλά(ε).

4412. NEW COMEDY

87/341(a)

fr. 1 6 x 13.7 cm

Third century

Line-ends from the foot of a column (lower margin 3 cm), written across the fibres in a loose Severe Style. On the front, and the other way up, 23 line-ends from a column of prose (upper margin 1.7 cm, right-hand margin c. 2.5 cm) which mentions Spartans (9]σπαρτια, 15]οιλακεδαι) and perhaps Phoenicia (4) and Arcadians (17).

No lectional signs or names. In 9 the space (largely occupied by the extended cross-bar of epsilon) may show change of speaker.

We are greatly indebted to Dr C. F. L. Austin and Dr N. Gonis for the suggestions quoted.

Fr. 1

1] ο . [

] κο μ . [

] νιανπε . . . [. . .] [. . .] [

] . . .] και θ [. . .] υς [

5] . . νε [. . .] ποτ [] ε [

] . [] οτι [

] μνητηςκορης [

] ιτεκαικα [] λει [

] αδιζε . . . τεδε [

10] λω ο . . . [] [

] ονπλης ο . [

] και π . νπλ . [

] [] νοικ . [

] ζατε [

15] νερχομαι [

] . ω εκτρεχει [

] . ατονδια [

] νανομνυω [

 foot

Fr. 1
1] , foot of upright, short horizontal at line-level to right (i.e. right foot of η, π?) ο . [, point at two-thirds height
2] , right-hand part of ω? ο . , elements of circle, perhaps c [, convex upright
3] , oblique descending from left to right ε . [, descender reaching well below the

line; faint traces to right (delusory?) 4] . [, foot of upright hooked to the left] . , right hand end of horizontal at one third [?] height; perhaps elements of ο 5] . . , faint horizontal tail at one-third height; upright (i?) ε . [. . , foot well below the line (e.g. ρ); ink at mid-level; top right and tail of υ? 6] , top and foot of upright, descending oblique above and to right (υ?) 8] , right-hand end of horizontal at two-thirds height, point on edge above (i.e. upper and middle extremities of ε?) α [] . , the space may be smaller than appears (scrap joined on here) 9 . . τε, first apparently τ with top extending well to left (no sign of an earlier upright to make π); second possibly upper left-hand arc; τ possibly γ 10] , oblique descending from left to right, extensive junction at top left (α, λ?) ω . , elements of large λ or χ? (apparently not μ) ο . , left peak of μ? [, elements of υ? 11] . , γ or τ . ο . [, apparently top and foot of upright; lower part of upright, trace of descending oblique to top right? 12 π . , the pi narrow; then upright [, upright, horizontal to right at two-thirds height (η? or straight ε, if the apparent trace of ink to the top right is not a delusion?) 13] . . . , first two, μ . or μ (the first an oblique descending from left to right, as of α); then apparently π κ . [, signs of ink below the lower leg, and to the right on loose fibre: perhaps elements of narrow-nosed α? 15] . , traces of horizontal tail at one-third height? 16] . . , to left, ink on under-fibres; then slightly concave upright on edge (η μ? υ π) ω . , perhaps just c with top extended to the right 17] . . , to left, ink on under-fibres; then right half of μ? 18] . , upright

Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4
.
] . . [] . . . [] . [
] ολις [	] και [	] εκ [
] υν . [	] θ [	] γθ [
] . [.] . [
.
Fr. 5	Fr. 6	Fr. 7
.
] ε . . . [	] . [	] ας [
] νεκ [	] μ [	. . . . .
. . . . .	] ε [	. . . . .
.
Fr. 8	Fr. 9	
.	
] . ζτε [	] δε [
. . . . .	] υσηργαζ [
. . . . .	] ξη . . ε . [
.	

Fr. 2
1] . . , upright with horizontal extending to right, damaged τ rather than γ? then upright, hooked to right at foot, oblique traces at top left, i.e. υ rather than ι? Then apparently no traces of ink on partly-

preserved fibres 2] , point at line-level, apparently foot of oblique descending from the left 3 . [,
foot and top of oblique rising to the right

Fr. 3

3] , apparently triangular apex; before that, preserved papyrus, blank or a letter of low stature?

Fr. 4

1] [, left upright and descending oblique of ν? 2] , horizontal trace at line level, then to right
horizontal trace nearly level with letter-tops (ζ, ξ?) 3] , top of upright 4] [, top of upright

Fr. 5

1 ε . . . [, first, lower part of upright; second, oblique rising from left to right; third, foot of upright

Fr. 6

Fibres stripped to the left; further traces on underfibres to left of 3

Fr. 7

Blank space below: foot of column? or line-end?

Fr. 8

] , lower arc of circle (ο, ω?) possibly elision mark cutting the horizontal of τ

Fr. 9

The recto preserves part of a right-hand margin 1]δ, the ink at the lower right is perhaps more
than expected for the usual prolongation of the descending oblique;]δ; might be considered 3 η . . .
first a tiny trace on the lower layer of fibres; then perhaps right-hand arc and cross-bar of θ . [, upright

Fr. 1

3 νε]ανίαν? Then apparently περ . [.

4 Spacing at the end uncertain: perhaps] και θ[ε]ούς. Presumably a compound oath of the type νή τὸν
Ἀπόλλω και θεούς (Men., *Dysk.* 151, *Ephit.* 400). But the trace in mid-line, an upright hooked leftwards at the
foot, does not suit Ἀπό]λλω. Ποσει]δῶ [(*Sam.* 427) looks a little short for the space, Ἀθη]ν[ᾶν] (Austin, citing
fr. adesp. 1014.37 KA) would fit well; neither suits the trace ideally.

5 Perhaps simply ποτε, the tau like the epsilon extended at the line-end, cf. 14; this, like 4 θ[ε]ούς,
assumes that the promontory of papyrus on the right needs to be moved closer in to the main massif. Before
that, υ? e.g. ἐφ]αίνετ' [δ]ῆποτε, -αινετου ποτε.

6 A very short line. Final δτι is common enough in Menander (most often in the phrases οἶδ' δτι and
ἔσθ' δτι).

7 ἔδεό]μην τῆς κόρης? Or e.g. ἐγενό]μην τῆς κόρης / [ἐγωγ' ἐραστής (Austin).

8]ει τε (]ειτε) και καλει (καλει, καλει).

9 β]άδιζε, or ἐβ]άδιζε (Men., *Kol.* 47, *Sik.* 270); then space (change of speaker?). For the imperative, cf.
Sam. 258 καλει ... βάδιζε. Then possibly ποτεδε[, τότε δε[κα (Austin) or the like.

10 Perhaps ἀ]λλ' ὀχόμ[η]ν (Gonis), cf. adesp. 1017.73 KA.

11 τὸν (-τον) πλησίον? Men. fr. 322.2 Koe. τὸν πλησίον 'the neighbour'.

12 Perhaps και πιὼν πλε[(πλέ[ον?] (Gonis).

13 Try (ἀν)έκ]αμπττον οἴκα[δε? For the verb cf. Men., *Sam.* 686, *Misoum.* 169.

15 ἔρχομαι, ἀνέρχομαι (the scribe leaves a space before ε, which may or may not be accidental).

16 ἐκτρέχει (with ὡς or -ως before?).

17-18 μὰ τὸν Δία, then Ἀθ]ηνᾶν δμύω. Together, as Dr Austin suggests, τὸν Δία / [τὸν Ὀλύμπιον και
τῆν Ἀθ]ηνᾶν, cf. Men. fr. 87, 333.14 Koe., Alex. fr. 233.1 KA, adesp. 1032.22 KA.

Fr. 2

1 Apparently line-end. ξ]τι, δ]τι or the like would be tempting; but if the last trace is rightly seen as υ,
not much offers except πλα]τῦ.

2 μόλις? Not πόλις.

3 γ]ύνα[ι is one possibility.

Fr. 9

2 ἦργαζ[-.

3 Perhaps ἐξ]ήλθεν[, but there seems to be further ink unexplained above ξ.

P. G. McC. BROWN—P. J. PARSONS

III. HELLENISTIC POETS

4413-4422. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I

This section includes all the unpublished papyri of *Argonautica* I so far identified in
the Oxyrhynchus collection. The collation takes as basis the apparatus of F. Vian (Budé,
1974), which was based on fresh collations of the MSS and of the indirect tradition
(notably of the two MSS of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* by J.-M. Jacques). Vian lists the
papyri of this Book already published; add now BKT IX 179, a fragment from a codex
(Hermopolis, v AD) with *Arg.* 1.234-40, and *ZPE* 115 (1997) 174 (roll, iii AD) with
Arg. 1. 864-9.

Three of these pieces (4413, 4418, 4421) were first transcribed by Professor Peter
Kingston, and later cleaned and re-transcribed by Dr W. E. H. Cockle. The text printed
here derives from a fresh collation; but we are grateful to Professor Kingston and Dr
Cockle for allowing us to consult their results.

4413. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I 85-105

5 1B.57/G(j)

3.3 × 12.1 cm

Third century

A narrow fragment of a roll, badly rubbed in places, preserving ends of
twenty-one lines. To the right of the column a narrow strip of papyrus has been
stuck as reinforcement prior to writing. The writing is along the fibres; the back is
blank.

The text is written in an unpretentious angular hand, sloping slightly to the right.
It may be assigned to the first half of the third century, if not slightly earlier. It is very
roughly bilinear (ι, ρ, τ, υ, φ project below line). Notable letter-forms include ξ, having
a shape common in elegant bookhands, and υ, with the foot of its stem curved to the
left.

An apostrophe, apparently written by the copyist, marks the only elision of the
preserved text (90). There is punctuation in the form of short oblique dashes at verse-
ends, but once in the form of a high point (100). I would think that all the dashes are
the work of the original scribe, while a second hand added the high point. The second
hand is also responsible for most of the accentuation: acutes (85, 87, 90, 91, 95, 100,
103), and possibly a grave (94), a circumflex (92), and a rough breathing (90), some of
them awkwardly placed further to the right than where they should have stood. A
quantity mark may have been written in 102. There are interlinear corrections in 92
and 98. The text presents nothing which is of special interest.

85 εικο]ρόων[ται
 ηγερε]θοντο
 υιε]ς'
 απ]όνητο
 δοτηρ]ι'
 90 με]ν αμ' αμφω
] κατένασθεν
 εξε]γαριξέν^α
 νασσε]ατο γηρω'
 -ι]αθέεις'
 95] Βούτης
 Φ]αληρος'
 αλ]λους
 κηδεμον]ο^α . .'
 μουννο]ν εον[τ]α[
 100 η]ρώεσσι'
 ε]κεκαστο
 δεε]μος ερυκ[ε
 τ]έ κεν αμφω
 ε]θεντ[ο
 105 δημο]ν[] [

86 In the margin some scattered specks.

89 Judging from its angular space, a space-filler rather than punctuation is written in the margin.

90 αμ'. Ink above *a*: possibly part of a rough breathing.

92 εξε]γαριξέν^α. Over iota is a curved stroke in lighter ink which looks like a circumflex (I cannot explain this anomalous accentuation). -εν, a mistake, obviously derives from κατένασθεν in the previous line.

94 -ι]αθέεις: λιασθείς L¹wE: διασθείς LA. Above sigma there is a curious stroke which starts descending from right to left but soon turns rightwards and approximates the form of a grave accent. Did the scribe start writing an acute, but soon become aware of his mistake and write a grave? Or was the original grave simply deleted by a cancellation stroke? If a grave accent over *a* (the penultimate syllable) were intended, its purpose would be to show that the word is oxytone. Alternatively, we could try to interpret the ink as a suprascript letter, perhaps]χ; but the traces do not encourage this.

98]ο . . There is considerable difficulty in deciding what is written here. On the line the first letter may well be ο (lower part only), and is followed by an inconclusive low trace, and another trace below line-level (descender?). At any rate, the expected κηδεμον]ήας cannot be read. It is likely that what the scribe wrote was mistaken, and the correct form was inserted above the line, as in 92. Then]α (the written surface is abraded to the left) could be the ending of κηδεμον]ήας. But I do not see how to restore the text *ante correctionem*, and cannot confidently restore *ς* above the line (there seems to be more ink, and higher up, than would be expected).

102 ερυκ[ε. Above upsilon there is a horizontal trace slightly curving up to right. Its shape is compatible with an acute accent, but this would not suit the transmitted ερυκε; did the papyrus have an unattested variant such as ερύκει (in error)? But one may also think of a quantity mark.

N. GONIS

4414. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I 133-204, 938-9, 974-1009

103 (Dec. 28) (=A)
 50 4B.23/F(3-5)a (=B)

fr. 1 3.5 × 17 cm
 fr. 18 8 × 23 cm

Second/third century

The main piece (B) gives the left-hand part of a complete column, with *Arg.* 1.974-1009; at the top left, two line-ends from the preceding column (938-9) are visible, so that the width of the intercolumnium can be estimated at 2.5-3 cm. The preserved upper margin is 2 cm, the preserved lower margin 2.5 cm deep. The complete column consists of 35 lines, which take up 18.5 cm; the total height of the roll is 23 cm. The line-length must have been 13-18 cm. If we take 15 cm as a norm, the length of a roll which contained *Argonautica* I would be about 7 m (39 columns). The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank.

Under A are assembled 17 smaller fragments which can be placed in *Arg.* 1.133-204. Here too, the writing is along the fibres; the back is blank. There is an apparent upper margin of 1.9 cm in fr. 1, a lower margin of 2.5 cm in fr. 2. The difference of inventory numbers suggests that A and B were found separately, and more than 750 lines of text intervene between them. But there is a very strong case for assuming that A and B were not only written by the same scribe but also belong to the same roll. (1) The script is very similar. (2) The widths of the surviving margins are consistent. (3) The line-spacing is the same in both. (4) The ink is the same colour in both, and so is the lighter ink used for corrections. (5) The columns of A can be reconstructed to contain more or less the same number of lines as those of B.

On the basis of a column of c. 35 lines, it is possible to give a fairly precise plan of the roll:

[cols. i-iv	1-132]
col. v	133-167 (35 lines)
vi	168-204 (36 lines)
[cols. vii-xxvii	205-937]
col. xxviii	938-973 (36 lines)
xxix	974-1009 (35 lines)
[]

Assuming that the number of lines in this papyrus was the same as in the medieval tradition, the gap between A and B contained 769 verses, which make almost exactly

22 columns of 35 lines. The gap before A contained 132 verses, or four columns averaging 33 verses: either the columns were shorter, or some prefatory material preceded the first verse.

The hand is medium-sized and angular, a rapid and informal version of the 'mixed' style which might be compared with Roberts, *GLH* 15c (Dioscorides, on the front of a document dated AD 191) and 17b (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, on the back of a document of the later second century?); III 446 (pl. VI) (Homer, on the front of a document of late ii or iii); VI 852 (Turner, *GMAW* 31) (*Hypsipyle*, on the back of an account datable perhaps to AD 90). Probably it should be assigned to the later second or earlier third century.

Some of the lectional signs are the work of the original scribe, some have been added by a second hand using a paler, brownish ink. It is interesting that A has far more accents by the first hand than B; apparently the original scribe took greater care with the earlier part of the text than later on. Only 979 has an acute which is made with a pen of similar thickness and apparently the same ink that the original scribe used. The only grave accents are in 1004. The first scribe put six circumflex accents in the text, while the other six (the one in 991 is doubtful) are added by the second hand. Elision marks, in several different shapes, are mostly written by the first hand (by the second hand in 183, 985, 988); there is no example of *scriptio plena*. The breathings, rough and smooth, are all written by the second scribe, except for the rough breathings in 193 and 988. Hyphen (976) and one *longum* (975) are added by the second hand; another *longum* (134) is written by the first hand. The two *obeloi* in 992-3 seem to belong to the writing of the first scribe, as well as three *diastoleis* (179, 976, 988), two expunging dots (986), a high stop (1007), and a *diastole* (999, 1005); some other critical signs may have been written (see on 157-8).

This is in its way a professional copy (iota adscript written everywhere that requires it). But two lines were omitted, and had to be supplied in the margin (192, 985, the second set off by an oblique dash). The original scribe apparently supplied 985. He was or may have been responsible also for the interlinear corrections or variants (135, 178, 993, 994, 998, 1001); that raises the possibility that he took them from his exemplar rather than from an independent collation.

The papyrus is of considerable interest for the text. In 987 it provides a certainly correct reading which is known otherwise only from the *Etymologica*. In 990 it solves a problem by reading *φράσσον* (already conjectured by Fränkel) *ἀπειρεσίη*[αι (the widely accepted emendation of Platt). The variants *καὶ κείνα* (996) and *ἄλλοι* (998) seem to reflect arguments among Homeric scholars with which Apollonius himself may well have been familiar. There are other unique variants which look more like mistakes: 185 *ἄλλοι* for *ἄλλω* (vulgarisation), 196 *νεώτ[ε]ρον* for *ὑπέρτερον* (inferior sense), 993 *ηρακλεωδηγαρ* (unintelligible), 994 *πάντα* for *τόξον* (a Homerism), 1001 *οἱ δέ* for *ἦδέ* (possible), 1007 *ἀλλ' οἱ* for *ἄλλοι* (against the syntax). The scribe wrote one additional line (155a), and deleted it.

[coll. i-iv lost]

A fr. 1-2 (col. v)

top

γε]νέθη [

Ναυβ]ολιδᾶο [

].εν [

135]ν εον[τα

δε]κούρ[η

ευνη]θείσα[

ναυτ]ιλίησι[

140?]οικω [

139?]ν [

141?] [

μι]ν αυτος· [

Αιολιδη]ν· [

εδιδα]ξεν· [

145 ι]δέσθαι· [

Α]ήδη [

δεδαημεν]ον ἕππων [

].. [

].. [

150].. [

].. [

αλ]κῆ· [

].. [

]..[.]. [

155 αυγαζεσθ]αι [

155a]..[.]. [

ν]έεσθαι [

εξεγέ]νοντο ' [

] .. [

Fr. 2

165]...ν.[
οφρ]α κομίζι ι[
κασιγνητοι]σιν όπα[] . ν
foot

fr. 3-17 (col. vi)

top

168 fr. 3/4

αμφ]ίτομόν τ[ε
ε]ντε[α] γάρ ό[ι

170

ενεκρυ]ψε κα[λ]ειήι [] . [] . []

173 fr. 5

] []

175?

Κο]λχ[ων
υι]ς []

177 fr. 6

ικ]αυ[ον Αχαιδος ην] κοτε Π[ε]λλην
]α[.].α[]

επ]όλις[σεν επ οφρυ]σιν Αιγιαλο[ιο
ε]πι τοίει [λιπων] . ύφημος ικ]ανε

179 fr. 7

Ποσειδαω]νι πο[δωκηες]τατον αλλων[]

180

181 fr. 8

Ευρωπ]η Τι[τ]υοιο μεγα[σθεν]έος τεκε [κ]ουρ[η
κει]νος ανηρ. κα[ι] ποντ[ου επι] γλαυκο[ο θ]έε[σκεν
οιδ]ματος ουδε θοους β[απτεν] πόδας αλλ ός[]

184 fr. 9

ιχν]εσι τεγγομενος δι[ιερη πε]φο[ρη]το κ[ε]λε[υθω

185 fr. 10

και] δ' αλλοι δ[.]. [.] . Π[ο]ρει[δ]αω]ν[ος
ητο]ι ο μεν πτ[ολιεθρο]ν αγα[υ]ου Με[ιλη]τοιο[]

187 fr. 11

νο]σφισθεις [Εργωος ο] δ' Ι[μβ] . . [.] . []

188 fr. 12

Παρθ]ενιη[. Αγκαιος υπ]έρ[βιο]ς [ιστορ]ε δ' αμ[φω

189 fr. 13

ημ]εν ναυ[τιλιης ηδ' α]ρε[ος ευχετων]το[]

190

Οιν]είδης δ[επι τοικιν] αφ[ορμηθεις Καλ]υδ[ωνος

191 fr. 14/15

αλκ]ήει[ς] Μ[ελε]αγ[ρος αν]ήλ[υ]θε Αα[] . . []

193

μητ]ερος αλλα έ θης[α] γυνη τεκε τ[ον] μεν []
ηδη] γηραλέον κ[ο]σμήτορ[α] παι[δος ιαλ]λεν[]

195

ωδ' ε]τι κουριζων περιθαρσα δυ[νεν
ηρωων] του δ' ουτ[.]νεωτ[.]ρον αλ[λον
νο]σφιν [γ]' Ηρακλ[η]ο[ς ε] ελθέμεν []
αυθι μ]εν[ων λ]υ[κ]αβα[ντ]α μ[ετ

199 fr. 16

και μεν] ο[ι μη]τρως αυτ[η]ν [] . []

200

στα]δίηι δεδ[αημενος] . . []

Ιφι]κλος εφ[ωμαρτησε] κ[ιοντι

202 fr. 17

] . . . [Ω]λενιοιο []

] . . . [] . []

] σφ[λο]ς[] . δ[]

vac.

192

] αδελφ[εος ου με]ν ιης γ[ε
foot

[coll. vii-xxvii lost]

B

(col. xxviii)

(col. xxix)

top

(985)

/ ηοι δ' ειαν[εβαν

938

ιθμ]ος

αλλ' ετι οι κατα δ[ωματ

939

ακτ]αι

975

ωδάνων Μεροπ[ος

Κλείτη εϋπλόκα[μος

θεσπεσιος εδνοι[σιν

αλλα και ως θάλαμ[ον

τοίς μετά δαιτ' αλεγ[υνε

980

α]λληλους δ' έρέειω[ν

π]ευθετο ναυτιλιης[]

οι]δε περικτιόνων π[ολιας

ευρ]ειης πευθοντο []

984

η[εί]δει καταλεξαι ε[ελδομενοισι

986

θηήσαιτο [[πό]] πορ[ους

νηα Χυτῶι Αιμενι . . []

ήδε δ' Ιη'όνιη πεφατ[αι

Γηγενεες δ' ετέρω[θεν

- 990 φράσσον απειρέσι[ci
 ποντιον οἰά' τε θηρ[α
 - ἄλλα γαρ αὐθι λελε[ιπτο
 - Ηρακλε[ω]η [[δη γαρ]] [.]. [
 παντας
 τοξον επαασυτερο[υc
 995 πετραc αμφιράωγα[
 δη γαρ που και κείνα θ[εα
 Ηρη Ζηνος ἀκοιτιc αε[θλιον
 cυν δε και αλλοι δῆθεν . [
 πριν περ, ανελθέμεν . [
 1000 Γηγενεων ηρωεc αρη[ιοι
 ηδε και εγχειριci δεδε[γμενοι
 αντιβιην ασπερχεc . . . [
 . . δ' ὅτε δουρατα μακρα υ[εον
 υ]λοτόμοι cτοιχῆδον επι[
 1005 ο]φρα, νοτιcθέντα κρατ[ερουc
 ωc] οι ενι ξυνοχῆι λιμέν[οc
 ξεείηc' αλλ' οι μεν εc αλ[μυρον
 δυ]πτοντεc κεφ[αλ]αc κα[ι
 χε]ρcωι τεινωμε[υοι
 foot

135 The spacing shows that the letters above represented an interlinear addition (or comment), not an extra verse. Probably we should interpret the remains as γε μεν εον[τα, with ιδ]μεν (omitted by *homoteleuton*) supplied by the first hand.

138-141 Verse 138 is certainly identified. The next line ends with]οιαν, which would suit 140 (οἰωνοῖαν) but not 139 (ἔναιον); the next again with]ν, which would suit 139 and much else. The third line, where nothing survives, might be 141, which is very short and would not have reached the preserved part of the papyrus. 139 would make no sense after 140; we should need to assume that it was omitted accidentally at some stage, and replaced in the wrong position.

147 δεδαμμεν]οι: the supposed ν has been thickly overwritten; above it a v-shaped mark suggesting a suprascript ν.

148-52 The spacing shows that there were five lines, but the traces are badly damaged and partly lost in stripped fibres to the right.

148 Perhaps Τυδ]αρ[εοιο.

152 αλ]κή: possible (a medial trace before stripped fibres; a further trace, well below the line, might represent the foot of iota, but apparently stands too far to the right).

153-6 The first of these line-ends offers unidentifiable traces. The second,] . . . [. . .], looks most like ν with possibly a high trace to the right on damaged fibres; this might represent 154 κει]ν[ον or κει]ν[ον] (the last trace, on a patch of adhering fibres, may not belong at all). In the next,]αι is very likely, presumably

155 αυγαζεσθ]αι. The last clearly has]εεσθαι, i.e. verse 156. But the spacing shows that there was an extra line between '155' and 156.

155a] . . . c . . . : the first trace is a tail which descends below the line and whose upper part bends to the right (ν or possibly ρ?); the next seems to be c; the remains of the next (a vertical, a horizontal sloping gently down, remains seemingly of another vertical) most suggest ν or a wide η (possibly with a circumflex above); then probably one further letter, or even two, though there is some uncertainty, because the traces are covered by a very large mark in the same ink as the first hand, more or less in the shape of a round bracket. This bracket presumably signifies a deletion.

No MS has an additional verse here. 155 ends the description of Lynceus' extraordinary eyesight, and 156 εὐν δέ... introduces another hero in the catalogue. It is conceivable that a verse was inserted here, which gave another detail. However, the *Suda*, which quotes 154-155 under the heading *Λυγκέως*, gives only these two lines. It looks as if the scribe copied a superfluous line and then added brackets to correct his error.

156-8 No clear trace remains of 158; the surface is damaged, and in any case 158 is such a short verse that we should not expect it to reach the preserved papyrus. In the margin to the right, traces on the edge: just above the level of 157, the lower part of an oblique rising to the right (cf. 985); lower down, three further traces one above another, of which the upper two might be the left-hand extremities of X (or of a *diple* or dotted *obelos*). These cannot represent line-beginnings from the next column, since it is clear in the upper part of this column that the margin was wider. They may be critical signs (apparently written by the second hand) referring to the next column.

165 The traces would allow αλλ] ο μεν η[δη (MSS).

166 οφρ]α κομίξ. ι: κομίζοι possible, as in Ω; κομίζει too could be read, but we expect the optative after the aorist *λίπετ'*.

167 ὄπα[] ν: ὄπαcε Ω: -αζε D.]εν is acceptable. The spacing does not decide between ὄπα[ζ]εν and ὄπα[cc]εν; for a similar set of variants cf. S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyrus of Homer* 276, on *Od.* 20.68. Here as at 143 the papyrus has the final nu, although the next line begins with a consonant; what the MSS have is not clear (Vian records only -ν within the line, I *Introd.* lxxvii).

168-74 The ends of these lines appear on fr. 3+4, the ends of 175 ff. on fr. 5. The precise horizontal range of these fragments in relation to each other cannot be determined.

168 αμφ]ιτομόν τ[ε: so M: ἀμφι τότε E^{ac}H: ἀμφεῖτό τε E² in ras. (a simple error of omission by E, which E² tried to correct). Fränkel posits a lacuna before ἀμφιτομον, to soften the zeugma; the papyrus does not support this, and I agree with Vian (I p. 58 n. 2) that the text is perfectly intelligible as it stands.

170 ενεκρυ]ψε: psi represented only by a short oblique above middle height.

κα[λ]ειήι: so mΣ^a: -ληῆ wdΣ^{1d}.

171] . . . : a vertical trace, perhaps but not certainly the last letter of the line (suitable for νεεσθαι).

173 εμβασι]ενε or perhaps -]ενεν acceptable.

174 γαι]αν acceptable.

177 κ]αν[ον: ἀφίκανον Ω: ἀφ' ἱκανον Fränkel: ἐφ- Campbell.

]κοτε Πε[λληc: ποτε Πέλληc Ω (Πέλλην Hölzl). It seems that the papyrus has either a different text, or the Ionic form of ποτε, which is otherwise not used in the *Argonautica* or the epic tradition in general; cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Call.* II p. xc for inconsistent intrusions of κοτε in Callimachus and his transmission.

178]α . . . α : a supralinear note, written in an ink similar to that used by the main hand, but thinner and more cursive. The second letter might be λ or χ or perhaps ν; the last might be λ as well as α. I have tried αχ[α]ια (this would serve to distinguish the Achaean Aigialos (*Il.* 2.575; Paus. 7.1.1) from other places of the same name and from the noun αἰγιαλόc); but it looks too short for the space, and there is more ink than ι would account for.

179 ε]πι τοῖci[λιπων] . ὕψημος: Εὔψημος ETest. (confirmed by *Arg.* 4.1466, VF 1.365; already in Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.45-6): Πολύψημος Ω. The traces before ν are indecisive. But the spacing, which can be estimated from the certain supplements in 180-1, seems to favour εὔψημος; [λιπωνπο] would probably be too long.

182 After ανηρ, a dot on the line: if this represents a low stop, its significance is not clear, unless it serves to separate the subject from the two parallel clauses that follow.

183 β[απτεν]: βάπτεν Ω: κάμπτεν E. The trace (a spot at line-level) would fit κ or β equally well. The space marginally favours the shorter [απτεν].

ὄc]: ὄcον MSS. There is an apparent stop after ο, and other unexplained ink.

185 αλλοι: ἄλλω Ω.

δ, [., [., [.: δυ[ο π]α[ε]δ]ε or δυ[ο πα]ε[δ]ε would suit the traces, but the space seems too narrow.

186]ου Με[ι]λη]τοιο. The placing of fr. 9 largely depends on these four letters (ουμε), since they are the only clear letters on the piece. This orthographic variant (μει- for μι-) does not seem to be mentioned in any of the editions, but the equivalence of ι and ει is widely attested; there are, in particular, several instances in other papyri of Apollonius (for example in XXXIV 2693 942; 2694 469; 2700 215).

]τοιο. ι is crossed by an odd, curved stroke, but I do not see how else to read it (it is too small for ψ). Did the scribe first write TOY and then change it to TOIO? But note that the first ο too has a vertical sticking up from it.

187]μβ] . . . [.: the minimal traces would allow]μβ]ρα[ε]η[ε].

188]ενη[: Παρθενίης ΩΣ^{lem*}ΣJ: Παρθενίην Brunck.

189 α]ρξ[οc: the unexplained interlinear ink (visible below]έ in 188) should belong approximately above these letters. The traces most suggest the extremities of c or the like; but e.g. δ? perhaps not impossible.

189-193 The placing of fr. 13-14 seems certain, since parts of 193 are certainly read in both of them, and in 195-7 they touch physically. But if the readings are correct, it becomes clear that the papyrus omitted 192. This in turn is confirmed, if we recognise this verse added in the lower margin of the column,] ἀδε]λφ[εoc ου με]ν ιηc γ[ε. One could think of various mechanical explanations for the omission—the repetition of Λαοκόων; *homoeoteson* (Μελέαγρος—Ολνήος); *homoeoteleuton* (τε—γε).

190]είδηc δ[επι τοικυ] αφ[ορμη]θεic Καλ]υδ[ωνoc: δ' LAG; τ' E om. S.

193 τ[ον: τ apparently corrected (there is an additional upright descending from the left part of the cross-bar).

193-4 The ends,]μεν[and]λεν[, are fr. 15.2-3, doubtfully placed here; alternatively we may have μεν and λογ from 195 and 196. The first line of fr. 15 is too broken to confirm either placing.

196 ηρωων] τρυ δ' ουτ[]νεωτ[]ρον αλ[λον: τοδ δ' ού τιν' υπέρτερον άλλον Ω. The papyrus seems to have a different adjective, νεώτερον; and before it ουτ[ε] or ουτ[ι]. The spacing apparently favours the latter; if ε had been written, one would expect to see a trace of the middle-stroke. ούτι νεώτερον would fit the metre, but how would it fit the context? Apollonius certainly means that Meleager was very young, and we could translate 'in no way, I think, was any other hero who arrived younger'. But the comparison with Heracles has no point (Heracles was not especially young; cf. 1.122-32), and the conditional clause ('if he had grown up among the Aetolians for one year more') makes no sense at all.

Perhaps this variant* is a mistake which occurred because a scribe was not able to divide the words properly: ΤΙΝΥΠΕΡΤΕΡΟΝ was understood as ΤΙ ΝΥΠΕΡΤΕΡΟΝ, and the unintelligible word altered to νεώτερον. This is a certain similarity to *Il.* 15.569 Ἄντιλοχ', οὗ τις εἴο νεώτερος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν.

197 ε. ελθ[ε]μ[εν: ἐπελθέμεν Ω: ἐελλθέμεν E. The traces of the letter between ε and ε are ambiguous: a left-hand foot and right-hand part of a high horizontal suggest π rather than c, and that may be favoured by the spacing too.

202 Ink unaccounted for at the end, middle stop?

976 Κλείτη paroxytone, as in Ω and Σ^L; Κλειτή oxytone in I^{ms}, Σ^J. EG and EGud recognise both (text in Wendel, *Schol. Apol.*, p. 86, n. 2 on 1.974-76a): διχῶc δὲ ὁ τόνοc, οἱ δὲ πλείονc δξύνουcι. σημαίνει δὲ τὴν ἔνδοξον, παρὰ τὸ κλειτόc. Clearly some scribes preferred the oxytone, because they believed the name to be the feminine form of the adjective κλειτόc. The MSS, like our papyrus, have the paroxytone, which conforms to the general rule for accenting proper names in -τη (cf. H. W. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* §§ 185-6—a note on Κλειτή on p. 54), and the more general rule about the recession of the accent in proper names formed from adjectives (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* I 420).

985 This line is omitted here, which can be explained by *homoearchon* of 984 HEIΔEI and 985 HOIΔEI. There was probably an omission mark in the left margin, but the papyrus is now broken away. The verse is added in the top margin in a script and ink which seem very similar to the first hand. One might assume that the scribe noticed his mistake and corrected it himself. He put an oblique stroke before the line, which is inset above the column, so that it does not match the beginnings of the other verses and makes this addition more noticeable to the reader; for similar uses of the single oblique see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* 17.

987 Χυτῶι Λιμενι . . . [: so EG^B EM: χυτοδ λιμένος MSS, Σ. The dative is the obviously better reading. The sense requires that the ship was brought from the first landing place into the second harbour. This coincides with the historical and archaeological facts about the double harbour of Kyzikos; cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio Beiheft XIV* (N.F. 1) (1923) 63-4. Chytos was the

western, Threkios the eastern harbour (Lehmann-Hartleben, map of Kyzikos in 3rd set of maps, Plan XI). The genitive ending may have been caused by assimilation to the words προτέρου ... ὄρμου; cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism* 23-4.

The papyrus is broken after λιμενι but traces of ink are visible: they consist of two rounded strokes, which do not seem to fit π (προτέρου MSS), but for example c, ε, ο. After these, there is the lower part of a descender. There may have been a further textual variant.

990 φράccον απειρεσίη[ci: φράξαν απειρεσίοιο MSS: 'fort. φράccον (potius quam φράξαι ἐπειρήσαντο) vel απειρεσίαc κε' Fränkel: απειρεσίηci Platt. The papyrus seems to settle this problem finally.

All manuscripts have φράξαν, which seems rather difficult to understand: the aorist cannot, as usual, express a completed action, since the giants' attempt to block the harbour was cut short by Heracles and his comrades. Delage's translation tries to solve the problem by taking the aorist as ingressive ('se mirent à obstruer'); Fränkel's alternative conjecture φράξαν απειρεσίαc κε tries to avoid it by turning the sentence into an 'unreal' potential. The imperfect, on the other hand, seems entirely appropriate here, as an *imperfectum de conatu* which emphasises the incompleteness of the action.

απειρεσίη[ci: unexplained ink between ρ and ε; it looks like an acute accent, but that makes no sense here. At the end the papyrus breaks off after the iota adscript; no doubt it had the dative plural ending in -ηc(i). απειρεσίηci, which is printed in most modern editions, is a conjecture by A. Platt (*Journ. of Phil.* 33 (1914) 12-3); all MSS have απειρεσίοιο. Platt argued that the epithet 'boundless' could not apply to a harbour (Χυτοδ), and could hardly look back to ούρεoc in the preceding line; whereas it was suitable and effective if applied to πέτρηc (cf. Q.S. 8.164 etc). Fränkel's conjecture απειρεσίαc κε was designed to deal with the problem of φράξαν. We cannot in fact exclude the possibility that the papyrus had απειρεσίη[ci κε. But (a) the reading φράccον solves the problem by itself; and (b) -ηci occurs far more often than -ηc in Apollonius (almost three quarters of the cases; cf. A. Rzach, *Gramm. Studien* 65, 70).

991 οιά': the acute accent seems to cross an apostrophe (intended to clarify the word-division?).

992/993 There are two horizontal strokes in the margin, one apparently referring to each line. Their purpose is uncertain. If they are ὀβελοί, they might indicate spurious verses, according to the system used for Homer (*Anecdota Romanum* ap. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie* II 411); cf. R. L. Fowler, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 18. But (a) though modern scholars have suspected interpolation (H. Fränkel, *Einleitung* 37), I know no evidence for ancient ἀθετήceic in Apollonius; (b) these two verses could not be removed without leaving 994 incomplete. Perhaps the strokes simply mark the lines as difficult; 993 certainly needed extensive correction.

993 ηρακλεωδηγαρ was written first, then corrected to ηρακλεηc ὀδεη, the reading of all MSS. At least part of this alteration may be due to the original scribe; the supralinear addition may be his, but looks clumsier. I cannot account for the first version: unless the sentence structure was radically different, it is hard to make sense of ηρακλεω or of δὴ γάρ (this begins 996, but I cannot see any mechanical reason why the scribe should have imported it here).

[.] . [.: the space and the trace (a very deep descender) would suit [c]φ[ι, the next word in the MSS text.

994 τοξον: so all MSS: πανταc written above, perhaps by the first hand (see note on 993). The variant clearly derives from the Homeric phrase on which Apollonius is modelling himself, πάνταc ἐπασcutέρουc πέλαce χθονι πουλυβοτείρη (*Il.* 12.194; 16.418). But here τόξον seems indispensable, unless (a) the second part of 993 was quite different in this version or (b) παλύντονον was used as a substantive, which is unlikely (the examples cited by LSJ refer only to military engines). For variants deriving from 'the Homeric permeation of scribes' see M. W. Haslam, *ICS* 3 (1975) 56 ff.

995 αμφιρῶγα[ci. The papyrus and all the primary manuscripts except E have the unusual word αμφιρ(ρ)ῶγαc, which is glossed in Σ^L (it occurs again only in AP 6.109, doubtfully assigned to Antipater of Thessalonica by Gow and Page, *Garland of Philip* II 63); E and Σ^J preserve the more common (but here unmetrical) ἀπορρῶγαc, which Homer (*Od.* 13.98) and Callimachus (*Lav. Pall.* 41-2), and indeed Xenophon (*An.* 6.4.3) and other prose writers use in a similar context (see A. W. Bulloch on Call. *Lav. Pall.* 41-2; Polyb. 10.48.5; Arist. *HA* 611^a21).

There is a further question about the spelling: the papyrus has -ρ-, whereas the MSS have -ρρ-. Modern editors print -ρρ- in such forms (for Apollonius cf. Rzach, *Gramm. Studien* 58 f.), sometimes but not always with an eye to prosody and etymology. Ancient practice varied; Aristarchus and others seem to have preferred the single consonant (see Σ *Il.* 9.78a with Erbse's note).

996 και κείνα: κάκεινα MSS (and similarly at 1.83; 1.972; 4.1441; 4.1731). Some modern editors have accepted the forms with crasis, on the evidence of the MSS and of the parallel between 1.972 and Call.

fr. 274Pf (= *Hecale* fr. 45 Hollis), where *EG* transmits *κακείνω* (Rzach, *Gramm. Studien* 473; Vian I *Introd.* lxxiv). But it is certain that Apollonius, unlike Callimachus, never uses the form *ἐκείνω*: hence Fränkel (app. crit. to 1.83) and Livrea (comm. on 4.1731) argue for *καὶ κείν-* without crasis. The papyrus supports this view. The same problem was being debated by ancient Homeric scholars (and this debate may have influenced Apollonius); Aristarchus at least recommended *καὶ κείν-* in such cases, on the general rule that Homer avoided *ἐκείνω* unless the metre required it (*Σ II.* 3.402 etc.). Much later, Quintus Smyrnaeus seems to follow the Aristarchean rule: F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomériques...* (1959) 160.

998 *ων*: so MSS. The first letter is damaged; and the most substantial trace, a short oblique descending from left to right, a little below the line, seems too long for *ο*. On the other hand, there is not enough ink for *ξ*. (The MSS normally transmit *ων*, and some examples are metrically guaranteed (e.g. 1.70, 111, 415, 512); by contrast there are only two passages where the metre requires *ξών* (Campbell, *Index* 193: 3.1279, 4.72). Here, in the initial position, *ξών* would be neither required nor excluded.)

ἄλλοι. Above *α* an *ω* is carefully drawn. Since *α* is not crossed out, this is not a correction but a variant. To judge from the ink and the letter-form (though it is difficult to be certain with a single letter), the addition was made by the original scribe: probably, therefore, he found the variant already present in his exemplar.

The problem whether to write ἄλλοι or ὠλλοι (= οἱ ἄλλοι), and in that case whether ὠλλοι or ὠλλοι, has been intensively discussed by ancient and modern scholars (see most recently M. Campbell (1994) on *Arg.* 3.176). The variants in the MSS of Apollonius reflect this debate, see the list in Vian I, *introd.* lxxvi f.; here too Apollonius or his interpreters might have been influenced by Homeric scholarship, since at *Iliad* 2.1 and 10.1 Zenodotus wrote ὠλλοι for the initial ἄλλοι and was criticised for it (see e.g. Apollonius Dyscolus, *Synt.* p. 6.1–6 Uhlig). Since ὠλλοι is the *lectio difficilior*, and explicitly attested by *EG*^B s.v. (text in Wendel, *Schol. Apol.* 95, 19 n.), it is likely to be the right reading; as for the breathing, I accept the argument of H. Erbse, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 19, in favour of ὠλλοι. But the papyrus demonstrates that, in this verse at least, both variants were circulating c. 200 AD.

999 The *diastole* after *περ* (a curving stroke close to the loop of *ρ*, less likely to represent an acute accent on (γ)γεν)ε(ων) in 1000 serves to exclude the articulation *πέραν*. In 1005 the purpose is not so clear.

1001 *ηδε*: so all MSS. But the damaged eta (larger than usual) seems to have been corrected in a different ink (two small strokes join the feet, and there is a stroke beneath it). Above it *οι* has been added. This suggests a new variant *οἱ δε*, which might also imply a corresponding *οἱ μὲν* instead of *ἡμὲν* in 1000. This construction would separate the warriors into two groups with two different kinds of weapons, whereas *ἡμὲν-ἡδέ* expresses the idea that they all used bows and spears.

1002 . . . : substantial traces, but on badly disarranged fibres.

1004 *υ*]λοτόμοι: further ink below *λοτ*, perhaps a hyphen.

στοιχηδόν: *στοιχηδόν Ω*: *στελεχηδόν E*.

1007 *αλλ' οι*: ἄλλοι MSS (apparently; editors cite no variant?). The punctuation of the papyrus opposes *οἱ μὲν* to *τοὶ δέ* 1009, 4.199 ff. looks parallel: *ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ... ἐρέσσετε, τοὶ δέ ... ἐπαμύνετε*. But there *ἀλλ'* suitably introduces the imperatives. Here the oppositive particle does not suit the context; ἄλλοι should be retained.

U. WARTENBERG

4415. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 198–208; 240–258

102/192(a)

6.2 × 13.9 cm

Second/third century

This papyrus has the lower part of one column, with nineteen line-beginnings, and a few line-ends from the preceding column. The margin between columns was of 1–2 cm; a lower margin of 1.9 cm is preserved. In some parts the surface is stripped, so that only the lower layer of fibres survives.

The text is written across the fibres. On the other side is a document, upside down in relation to the literary text on the verso. Line-beginnings in a good cursive assignable

to the late second or early third century; one can read *γιτονεσ* (9) and amounts in arouras, which suggests a land-register or the like.

Lines 198–200 in col. i range approximately with 242–244 in col. ii. Thus, the total number of verses per column must have been about 44–45, if the number of lines coincided with the text transmitted in the MSS. 258 was the last line of a column; the text up to that point would occupy 6 columns of c. 43 lines, so that our two columns are the fifth and sixth of the original roll. The columns must have been c. 28 cm high, and approximately 16 cm wide (so that the whole Book would occupy a length of about 5.60 m).

The script is a rather informal example of the 'Severe Style', which has some cursive features; notice *β* written with a long flat base at line-level. Dated parallels are Roberts, *GLH* 20a (Turner, *GMAW*² 84)¹ and 21a; these both come from the earlier part of the third century, but a date for our papyrus in the later second century could hardly be ruled out.

There are a number of acute accents, one circumflex (244) and one elision mark (246); high stop 198. All the lectional signs seem to be the work of the first hand.

col. i	col. ii
	240
	<i>α</i> σπερ[εσ
	<i>έν</i> νε[πεν
198	<i>Ζευ</i> α[να
	<i>ηρωω</i> [ν
	<i>αυτῆ</i> [μαρ
200	<i>Αιήτ</i> [εω
	<i>αλλ'</i> ου [
	<i>ωσ</i> φά [σαν
	<i>πολλ</i> [α
205	<i>ευχο</i> [μεναι
	250
	<i>αλλη</i> [
	<i>δειλη</i> [
	<i>ηλυθ</i> [εν
	<i>Αίτων</i> [
	<i>βέλτ</i> [ερον

¹*GLH*-20a (VII 1016: Plato, *Phaedrus*) stands on the verso of the register VII 1044, which L. C. Youtie has since dated c. 233/4: see most recently M. S. Funghi and G. Messeri Savorelli, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 81–2.

255 νειόθ[ι
 η όφε[] . . [
 κυμ[α] μ[.] . [
 ανδ[.]μ[.] . [
 foot

198–200 The identification is reasonably secure from the letters surviving in 199–200; the high stop in 198 fits very well (it is the end of the long sentence 193–8).

198 Αιτωλοει[ν]: editors print Αιτωλοίει, since the next line begins with a consonant; for such variants see on 4414 167.

208 Presumably παροιθ]ε: editors print -θεν (the next line begins with a vowel). See on 198.

256 η όφε[] . . [: ώς όφελεν Ω. In the papyrus, ο was apparently corrected (from ω?); after ε, λει could be read (doubtful traces on partly-stripped fibres). ώς όφελεν is a normal expression (*Arg.* 3.773; with αϊθε 1.278, αϊ γάρ 3.712), but the introductory particle is not strictly necessary (3.678), and 3.466 ή μὲν όφελλεν might serve as a parallel here, especially after 253 ή τε. That seems at least more likely than supposing that someone understood a disjunction, ή τε οί ήεν ... ή όφελεν.

257 μ[.] . [: μέλαν Ω, but the trace (on damaged fibres) suggests the foot of an upright rather than the oblique of λ.

258 ανδ[.]μ[.] . [: ανδρομέην Ω: γρ. Αντιόπην J^mB^m. Space and trace would allow ανδ[ρο]μ[ε]η[ν].

U. WARTENBERG

4416. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 285–6; 302–6; 309–21; 328–32

69/2(a)

fr. 1 11.5 × 13.5 cm
 fr. 2 11.5 × 9.5 cm

Second century

These two fragments preserve upper and lower parts of the same two columns. The writing is across the fibres, and a sheet-join can be seen running vertically some 2 cm in from the left-hand edge. Thus the literary text stands on the verso of the original roll. On the recto, in a professional cursive assignable to the second century, stands a documentary text, apparently a register of land-holdings. On fr. 1 nothing is visible but an isolated figure. Fr. 2.5 reads] Άριστάνδρου δι' ύπογεωργ(ών) αντ[(οὐ), 6 ends (ἄρ.) εδ . [(I owe the readings to Dr. J. R. Rea).

This was originally a spacious and elegant copy. The intercolumnar margin is between 4 and 5 cm, the surviving lower margin about 4 cm. Col. ii must have contained 26 lines, to an estimated height of 27 cm. If we add 4 cm for the lower margin, and (say) 3 cm for the upper, the roll would measure c. 34 cm high. This would make it unusually tall for a literary roll: in the list of Kenyon, *Books and Readers* (1951) 50–1, the tallest roll cited measures 33 cm (P^Tebt II 268); of the Oxyrhynchite rolls analysed by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale, 1992) only 3 out of 45 reach this sort of height (XVII 2097, XLVII 3322, XLIX 3447). It may well be that documentary rolls, such as this was originally, tended to larger sizes. In this format, *Argonautica* I would take up exactly 23 columns, and occupy nearly 5 m of papyrus.

The text is written in a large, regular, beautiful script assignable to the second century. For similar (but more formal) literary hands see VIII 1082, Cercidas, and the parallels collected by G. Menci, *Atti XVII Congr. Int. Pap.* (1984) I 51–6; there is also a close likeness to the carefully written documents PGissUniv 20 (pl. I) (mentioning an epistrategus of c. 115) and PBrem 5 (pl. I) (c. 117–9). The scribe sometimes divides words (312, 314). There are *diareseis* (304; 314) and a few high stops at line-ends, no accents, but possibly one breathing (311). Iota adscript is written when necessary. Elision is made but not marked.

	col. i		col. ii
fr. 1			
			η Ανκιην [
			310 τοιος ανα π[ληθυν
285?	]ι		κεκλομενων ἀμ[υδις
	] .		Ιφιας Αρτεμιδος πο[λιηοχου
	] .		και μιν δεξιτερης [
	] .		εμπης ιεμ[ε]νη δυ[νατο
	] .	315	αλλ η μ[ε]ν [
	] .		οπλοτε[ρων
	] .		αυταρ επ[ει
	] .		ακτην [
	] .		δειδεχ[ατ
	] [	320	ς]τη δ[
			ες] δε[νοησεν
fr. 2			
] .		
	επαρωγ]ηι .		εσχ]ετο τους δ[αγορην
	εκη]λος		αυτου δειλλο[μενοις
	] ηηι .	330	κεκλιμενωι μαλ[α
305	κιο]ντι .		τοιςιν δ Αικονος υ[ιος
	νε]εσθαι .		αλλα μεν οσα τε [νη
	foot		foot

285]ι, 286] . (a vertical which is joined on the left by an oblique: *ν* or *αι*). If we take into account the known height of the column (26 lines), 285–6 offer the best fit (*μεγαροι*ε—*πολλη*ν).

311 ἀμ[υδι: the breathing is broken, but plausibly read; for ancient disputes about the aspiration of this word, see Schol. A II. 9.6 (II 396.67 Erbse).

328 εχ]ετο: above *ο* broken traces of what looks like a grave accent, apparently too close to belong to the preceding verse.

329 αυτου δειλλο[μενοι: δ' ἰλλομένοι Ω. An iotacism (ειλ-), rather than *scriptio plena*? But in any case ειλ(λ)ω and ἰλλω are commonly confused (note the variants at 2.571).

U. WARTENBERG

4417. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, Arg. I 543–58

112/a2

6 × 10.5 cm

Second/third century

A rather dark and damaged fragment with the right-hand part of a column; displaced and twisted fibres make reading difficult in some places. The text is written along the fibres; the back is blank. The surviving intercolumnar margin reaches 1.5 cm.

The hand is a well-written, medium-size example of the ‘Severe Style’, to be compared e.g. with LII 3659 and assigned to the second half of the second century or the first half of the third. One elision mark (548) and one diaeresis (544); a correction in 549 is the work of the first hand, and so perhaps are the lectional signs. Iota adscript is written at the one place which requires it (549).

Our papyrus offers no new readings, but attests the antiquity of two excellent variants. 548 has γένος, and 556 ἀπηρέα (the first piece of evidence from the direct transmission for this rare epithet).

.
] . [.
] . ω . [.] . ν [.
 545 εικέ]λα νηος ἰου[ση
 ελευκ]αιν[ο]ντο κελε[υθοι
 διειδο]μενη πεδιοιο [.
 λευcco]ν θεοι ηματι [.
 ανδρων] γενος οι τοτ' α[ριστοι
 δ
 550 επ' α]κροτ[α]τησι τε νυ[μ]φαι[.
 εθα]μβεον ειςορωσαι [.
 η]δε και αυτους [.
 επικραδαο]ντας ερετμα [.
 κιε]ν αγχι θαλα . . . [.
 πολιη] δ επι [κ]υματος αγ[η

555 βαρειη] χει[ρι] . . . [.
 απ]ηρεα ν[ικο]μενοι
] . [.] ο . [.
] κ [.

543] . ω . [.] . ν [: δεινὸν μορμύρουσα ἐρισθενέων μένει ἀνδρῶν Ω: μορμύρουσα τυπήσιν ἐρισθενέων μένει ἀνδρῶν *proecdosis* according to Σ^L. The broken traces in the papyrus would suit *ερισθεν[εων] [μ]ειν[ει] ανδρων*; this also fits the spacing from the line-beginning. (The spacing does not determine whether the papyrus had the verse as transmitted in the MSS or as quoted from the *proecdosis*, since the two versions have the same number of letters.) The surviving *ω* cannot belong to *ανδρῶν* or indeed to *ἠρώων*, which Fränkel conjectured in the version of the *proecdosis*, in order to remove the double dative, since that would leave the traces further to the right unaccounted for.

547 λευcco]ν θεοι, as Ω: θεοι λεδων Ε (misspelt and unmetrical).

548 ανδρων] γενος οι τοτ' α[ριστοι: γένος ωΕ: μένος ΛΑ. As Fränkel, *Einleitung* 134–6, has shown, γένος is the better reading. The gods are watching the ship and the heroes; since the heroes are described as demigods (*ἡμιθέων*), the emphasis in this context should fall on their kinship with the gods (*γένος*), not on their physical prowess (*μένος*).

549 The scribe first wrote τε. Then above τ α δ between two dashes was inserted, written by the same hand and in the same ink. The confusion of τε and δε is very common in the manuscripts (for example 1.802), but the apparatus of the major editions do not record any variants for this verse. Since δε was added by the original scribe, we might assume that he found both readings in his exemplar.

556 απ]ηρεα: ἀπηρέα *Epimerismi Homeric* (Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* I 84.7 f.): ἀκηδέα Ω. ἀπηρήσ occurs twice in Apollonius (here and at 1.888), and nowhere else; but in Apollonius it is transmitted only by the lexicographic tradition, while the MSS offer a commoner word (here ἀκηδέα, cf. 4.822; at 1.888 ἀπήμοσ, cf. 1.885). In both places, it represents the *lectio difficilior*; the unanimity of the MSS would prove only that the simplifications entered the text at an early stage. The authority of the indirect tradition, in particular the *Etymologica*, weighs heavily in its favour. That authority is now reinforced by our papyrus, which shows the reading already current in a book-text of the Roman period.

557 επωλε]ν[ε]ον[would fit; traces of one or more letters earlier in the line are too damaged to place.

558 δε]ιδικ[ετο would fit.

U. WARTENBERG

4418. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, Argonautica I 623–33

5 1B.44/D(e)

5.2 × 7.1 cm

Third century

A scrap from a roll preserving the remains of eleven lines written parallel with the fibres. The back is blank.

The hand, angular and slightly sloping to the right, without serious pretensions to formality, is a congener of the mature ‘Severe Style’. The scribe used a relatively thick pen. There is no particular contrast between broad and narrow letters. Descenders reach below the line; that of *ν* is curved backwards at the foot. A date within the earlier part of the third century may be suggested.

The acute accents (629, 631, 632, 633), the high stop (628), and the correction in

625 may well be by the first hand; the two apostrophes (631, 633), both rather large, seem to be by a second. Iota adscript is not written in 629 (inside a word).

There seems to be a new but puzzling reading in 631.

] και το[ν

 προσθε]ν α[ταρ] **Ζικ**[ινον
 625 νησον ε]πακ^ττη^ρε^ς [
 Νηιας Οι]νοιη νυμ[φη
 ταισι] δε βουκολιαι τ[ε
 τευχ]εα[·] πυροφορου[ε
 ρ]η^ιτερον πασηων [
 630 οικ αιε]ι το παροιθε^ρ [
 η θαμ]α[·] ει πάπτων[ον
 δε]μα^{τι} λευγαλέω [
 [τ]ω και ότ' εγ[γ]υθ^ιι

624 **Ζικ**[ινον: so Ω EM: σηκόνδε Σ Pind. *Ol.* 4.31b.

627 ταισι Ω Σ^Ω: τησι Brunck. The spacing does not show which the papyrus had.

631 θαμ]α[·] ει: θαμ^α δ^η MSS. For the first five surviving letters there is a gap between the horizontal fibres, so that the scribe's pen rode unevenly across the rough surface; this coupled with physical damage makes it hard to decide what the papyrus had. Lambda may be a candidate for the dotted letter; the apostrophe might rather suggest δ. But I do not see how to articulate the text.

N. GONIS

4419. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 740-50

112/132(a)

3.6 × 5.2 cm

Second/third century

A small fragment, written along the fibres, with the ends of eleven verses; back blank. The script is of a common type ('Severe Style'), slightly inclined to the right. The hand of IX **1174** (= Turner, *GMAW*² 34), assigned by its editors to the late second century, makes a close parallel. There is one elision mark and one diaeresis, both by the main scribe (746); high stop in 747.

Two Apollonius papyri, previously published by Kingston as XXXIV **2698** (no plate), are probably written by the same scribe as our papyrus. Those, too, contain passages from *Arg.* I (794-807; 919-37). The line-spacing in the two published fragments is the same as in our new piece. **2698** contains supralinear letters, which preserve variant readings. There are no such additions in the new fragment.

] . . [

 740 νικε]το πετρη [
] Κυθερεια [
 ε]κ δε οι ωμου [
 κε]χαλαστο χι[τωνος
 745 αν]τιον ατρεκ[εε
] φαινετ' ιδεε[θαι
 νομο]ε[·] αμφι δε βο[υσι
] Ηλεκτρων[οε
 εθε]λοντε[ε
 750] . . [

740] . . [. Small remains of two or three letters: λυ]αμ[ων seems possible.

742 Κυθερεια: so Ω: Κυθερειη E. At the end, a low oblique trace is well suited to the left-hand angle of α, but not to η.

750] . . [. Two tiny ink blots at the upper line-level should be part of 750, but are not identifiable otherwise.

U. WARTENBERG

4420. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 754-58

114/46(a)

2.4 × 3 cm

Second century

A small scrap with remains of five lines. The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank. The script belongs with such 'informal round' hands as Roberts, *GLH* 13b (PLitLond 132, Hyperides), to be assigned to the second century and probably to its first half.

There are three accents, all by the first hand, on these few words, which might indicate that the papyrus had quite a large number of them; there may be a further lectional sign in 754, added by a second hand. Iota adscript seems to be duly written in 757.

.

 755 οι] ἕκε παρ[αιβατικ
 μεταδρ]ομάδην [
 Οιω]μαος προ[οτενεε
 πλη]μνηις[ι
] . . [

754 ἔσκε. There are two damaged strokes above the first ε, one of them shaped like an open triangle in a browner and lighter ink. Both could be accents, although the one to the left may conceivably be a breathing which is slightly damaged; cf. Turner, *GMAW*² p. 11 for this type of accent, which he classified as form 3.

758] [. Only a short oblique stroke at the upper line-level survives, which looks like an accent. To the right the top of a letter (μ or ν?). Assuming that the text of the papyrus conformed to that of the MSS, the spacing suggests επεccύ]μ[ενoc.

U. WARTENBERG

4421. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I 835–43, 866–74

93/Jan 3/A1

14.1 × 4.3 cm

Fifth century

A triangular fragment from the right-hand part of a leaf of a parchment codex, heavily smudged and abraded, especially on the hair side. On the hair side the left-hand margin is preserved to 2 cm, and possibly is the original. There were approximately 31 verses to a page; assuming that the number of verses to a page was more or less uniform throughout the poem, the complete *Argonautica* (5755 verses) would have occupied about 186 pages of the codex. On the basis that 8 verses have a depth of 3.7 cm, the written height is calculable at c. 14.4 cm. The width of the column must have measured approximately 13 cm (842 is complete except for four letters); allowing for a possible margin of c. 5 cm on all sides, we may reconstruct the dimensions of the page as around 18 × 19.4 cm. With this format the codex may be classified among the examples of class V of parchment codices (c. 20/17 × 25/21 cm), as described in E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 27.

The text has been written in a metal-based ink, now turned brown. The script can be classified as a specimen of the so-called 'sloping pointed majuscule'. Noticeable features of the hand include its general bilinearity, the marked contrast of thick and thin strokes, and the presence of ornamentation in the form of finials (chiefly smallish blobs) on the extremities of most letters; note also the form of κ, with its arms detached from the vertical. By comparison with G. Cavallo, H. G. T. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* nos. 17a (mid- or second half of fifth century) or 23a (fifth/sixth century), a date within the latter part of the fifth century appears likely.

The parchment has been dry-ruled on the hair side. The text is so richly equipped with lectional signs as to suggest systematic diorthosis. The original scribe wrote all the apostrophes, signalling elisions wherever they occur, and the diastole after ουκ in 840. He may also have been responsible for the punctuation, in the form of high points. The extensive range of lectional signs (with the exception of smooth breathings, the text seems to have been all but fully marked up) seems largely due to a second hand, as may be seen from the different colour of the ink (also brown, but paler). The second hand has also added iota adscripts where required, although once presumably in error (842, see note below), and perhaps is to be given credit for the two corrections in 873.

There is a variant above 843, written in a fast smallish script, perhaps by the second hand, as may be implied by the ink colour. A third hand (black ink) must have intervened in 842 (see note). A probable gloss is partially preserved in the margin opposite 839, but there is no way of telling who wrote it.

There are new readings in 842, 843, 874, and probably 869. In 842 and 843 interlinear variants (or corrections?), which do not differ from the rest of the manuscript tradition, were introduced at a later stage. In 874 the new reading seems a good one, and leaves room to think that a modern conjecture may hold true. In 869, although decipherment is difficult, there is the possibility that another modern conjecture is substantiated.

Flesh side

835 παρα]βλη[δην
]αντια[σαιμεν
 σεθε]ν χατέουσι[ν
 αν]α πτόλιω εντ' αν[η β[
 ανα]κτορή δε μελέεσθω
 840 εγω]γε μὲν ουκ' αθερίζων
] . [αλ]λα με λυγροὶ επισπέρχουσιν ἀεθλοὶ
 [] . []
 η κα]ι δεξιτερῆ' χειρὸς θιγεν' αἴψα δ' ὀπίσσω
 ἀλλοθεν αλλαι
 βη ρ' ι]μεν' αμφι δε τόνγε νεήνι[δ]εσ ἀλλυδις ἀλλη'

Hair side

]. . []
 κειθ]εν ον[οσαμενοι
 να]ιοντας λιπ[αρην
 ο]ν . ν . υκλ[.] . [.] . [.]
 870 εccόμεθ' ὦδ' επι δηρο[ν
 αυτόματον δώκει τ[ις
 ίομεν αὔτις ἑκαστοι επι ςφε[α
 Υψ[ε]ιπύλης εἶατε πανῆμερον ἐκόκε Αἴ[μνον
 παισιν [.] . ανδρώση' μεγάλη δ' επι β[αξίς

839 mrg. Perhaps ῆ β[ακιεία, a gloss on ἀνακτορή (same gloss in Cyril, see Latte's Hesychius s.v. ἀνακτορία).

841] . [. Perhaps part of χ of χάζομαι, but that cannot be confirmed.

842 κὰι. What I take as iota is the top of a tall upright. Other iotas are considerably shorter, but the final iota of ἀέθλοι is also taller than usual.

δεξιτερῆ^ι. The second hand added the circumflex and inserted a smallish iota adscript high in the line; apparently at a later stage a third hand wrote a smallish sigma, which thus brought the parchment's reading into line with what we know from the medieval tradition.

There is a trace above the ι of θιγεν: an acute accent is expected here, but its shape does not suggest that. Nor does it suit a diaeresis.

843 τόνγε: so m: τόνδε S in error.

νεήνι[δ]ε: so Ω: νήιδε E. There seems to be some ink above iota: part of a diaeresis?

ἀλλυδιδ ἀλλη and above the line ἀλλοθεν ἀλλαι: ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι MSS. The new variant is not impossible: cf. 2.980 (ἄλλυδιδ ἄλλη), 4.1293, 1462, as well as H. Π. 11.486, 12.461, etc.

866-74 The ink is often faded or obscured; dotted letters should be treated with caution.

866]ηε[with the MSS acceptable.

868 There seems to be a middle point between the two surviving words.

869 ο]υ . ν . υκλ[.] . [.] . [: οὐ μὲν εὐκλειεῖς Ω: οὐ μάλ' εὐκλειεῖς Q, Fränkel: οὐ μὲν εὐκλειεῖς Hoelzlin. After υ too little remains to confirm μ. The barytone accent that follows rules out μάλ', and I think the trace suggests the top of ε rather than α, that is μὲν with Hoelzlin. After ν it is impossible to read ε with the manuscripts: what is visible looks like λ or the right-hand part of μ.

870 ἐσσόμεθ': ἐσσόμεθ' MSS: ἐσσόμεθ' Fränkel (*Noten zu den Argonautica des Apollonios* 116). In the text as preserved the rough breathing has been added in all possible cases (870, 872, 873), and this may well have been the diorthotes' practice throughout the text. Thus the fact that no rough breathing seems to have been written here may indicate that 4421 offers the same reading as the MSS.

871 αὐτόματον: so Ω, Σ 2.333-4a: αὐτόματος G, 'fortasse recte' (Vian).

872 ἕκαστοι: so Ω: ἕκαστος E.

873 Υψ[ε]ῖ[ι]πύλης. ε has been crossed out by a cancelling stroke.

πανήμερον. A case of *interaspiratio*, cf. XXXIV 2699 30, 34.

874 [.]ανδρώση: ἑπανδρώση w: ἐκανδρώση v.l. L, v.l. A, E, Sch. (Ms. J) (-cei LA): ἐνανδρώση West. Decipherment is very uncertain. Before the putative α a faint trace high in the line, perhaps belonging to an upright. For the reading see M. L. West, *CR* 13 (1963) 9, and F. Vian, *REA* 72 (1970) 93.

μεγάλη δ ἐπι β[α]ξι: μεγάλη τέ ἐ βάξις Ω: μεγάλη δέ ἐ βάξις Faerber (*Zur dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautica* 94 n. 3). The parchment presumably had μεγάλη δ' ἐπι βάξις ἴκηται; cf. 1.661 κακῆ δ' ἐπι πολλὸν ἴκηται βάξις. For this verse see Vian's note, who stresses that 'il n'y a pas lieu de suspecter non plus le dernier hémistiche' (p. 91 n. 2). The new reading does not help us eliminate suspicions.

N. GONIS

4422. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 972-81; 1089-94

fr. 1 87/303(a)

3 × 5.5 cm

Second/third century

fr. 2 88/H42C

6 × 3.5 cm

The two fragments, though separated by c. 100 lines of text, look as though they were written by the same scribe, and therefore probably belong to the same roll. The text is written along the fibres; the back is blank. Fr. 2 preserves about 1 cm of the intercolumnar margin. The hand is a fine upright 'Severe Style', assignable to the second/third century. A paragraphos between 1091 and 1092 marks the beginning of a speech. There are no other lectional signs, except perhaps a diaeresis in 1092 and a diastole in 973.

fr. 1

.
] . [
 πα]ιδεσ·ει[ν
]δωματ α[κηρατος
 975 Μερο]πος Περκ[ωσιου
 ευπλο]καμος τηγ [
 εδν]οικιν ανη[γαγεν
 θα]λαμον τε λ[ιπων
] αλε[γ]υνε βα[λεν
 980 ερεε]ων αμο[ιβαδιδ
 ναυτ]ιλιησ ανυ[ειν

fr. 2

.
 νηιο]υ [α]φλακτοι[ο
 1090 τὸν δ' ὅ [γ]ε κεκλιμ[ενον
 κεινησας ανεγ[ειρε
 Αικονι]δη
 Δωδυ]μου
 μητερ[α

973 πα]ιδεσ·ει[ν: between the two sigmas a dot is visible: it looks like a diastole, which is sometimes used to separate double mutes or liquids, but not normally sibilants; cf. Turner, *GMAW*² p. 11 and n. 50.

1090 τὸν δ' ὅ [γ]ε: so Ω: τὸν δέ γε E. The trace after δ suits ο better than ε.

U. WARTENBERG

4423-6. ARATUS

We publish here all the remaining papyri of the *Phaenomena* so far identified in the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society. This adds substantially to the representation of Aratus on papyrus:

4423

Phaen. 42-68, 79-83,

ii-iii AD Oxy

103-37

PBerol 5865 (BKT V i p. 54) [M. Maehler, <i>APF</i> 27 (1980) 19–32]	marginal scholia on parts of 146–337	iii–iv AD	
4424	324–336	ii–iii AD	Oxy
4426	commentary on 452–5	ii–iii AD	Oxy
PHamb II 121	480–94	ii BC	
4425	516–525	i–ii AD	Oxy
PVindob G40603R [Kramer, <i>ZPE</i> 49 (1982) 69]	542–50	ii–iii AD	
PBerol 7503 + 7804 (BKT V i p. 47)	642–55, 684–802, 855–83, 922–34	i–ii AD	
PLitLond 34 + PRain III 17 (Lenaerts, <i>CE</i> 43 (1968) 356–62]	741–53 etc.	iv AD	Socnopaei Nesus?
XV 1807 + PKöln IV 185	914–933	ii AD	Oxy
PLitLond 35 *	944–57	i AD	

4423. ARATUS, *Phaenomena* 42–68, 79–83, 103–37

88/210

Fr. 10 3 × 5.2 cm

Second/third century

Mr Lobel had assembled some forty fragments of a manuscript of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. Five turn out not to belong; the rest (reduced by combination to fifteen) can be placed within three consecutive columns, the first of which was the second of the whole roll. Columns iii and iv of the roll contained 34 verses each, and, since the last verse of column ii is 68, it is safe to assume that columns i and ii did so too. In col. iv the height of the written area is about 20.9 cm; the preserved upper margin is 2.7 cm, the preserved lower margin 2.9 cm. The maximum width of the written column is about 18.6 cm (105, as restored); the space between col. iii and iv was at least 1.9 cm. The whole poem would have taken 34 columns, with a roll at least 7 m. long.

The scribe practises a fine 'Severe Style' (Turner's 'Formal Mixed'). Comparable hands are to be found in the group of MSS quoted in Lobel's introduction to XLV **3215** (assigned by him to ii AD, but to iii AD by Turner, *GMAW*², p. 149 n. 48), in LVI **3822** (Pindar, *Paeans*), X **1234** (Alcaeus), XVII **2098** (Herodotus), XXI **2302** (Alcaeus).

The hand of our papyrus is distinguishable from some of these parallels for being on the whole rather upright. Accents (whose shape is not regular, and sometimes careless) and punctuation marks look normally to have been written in a darker ink and were probably provided by a different hand or at a later time. Several hands have contributed (a) corrections *supra lineam* and (b) marginalia. (a) In 57 the correction, by a different hand, smaller than that of the text, but in a very similar ink, has been crossed out by a stroke in a darker ink; in 130 the correction is in a darker ink than the stroke which deletes the original reading. The correction in 57 is written with a thicker pen than the one in 130, but it is difficult to tell if they are by different hands too. (b) The hand that wrote, with a thick pen, the note in the margin of 130 f. looks different from the one in the margin of 124 f. The latter may be the same that wrote the correction *supra lineam* in 130 (and possibly in 49) and the marginal note to the left of 108. Neither annotator can be identified with the scribe of the text.

My information on the medieval MSS is derived largely from Martin's edition. His apparatus is however unsatisfactory, in part also as a consequence of the assessment of the MSS tradition provided by Martin himself (cf. R. Keydell, *Gnomon* 30 (1958) 582 on the omissions of S's readings; this is why I have often quoted Maass's C and O (= Parisinus gr. 2728, Vat. Pal. gr. 137), faithful copies of S according to J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956) 234). Supplementary information is derived from the editions of Maass (1893), Bekker (1818) and Buhle (1793).

Frr. 1–9 (col. ii 8–34?)

42 η δ ετερ]η [
μειοτε]ρη[ι
τηι κα]ι Ci[δονιοι
45 τα]ς δ[ε] δι[
ειλ]εί]ται [μεγα θ]αν[μα
μ]υριος· αἰ [δ] ἀρα οἱ ς[πειρης εκατερθε φ]ερ[ο]ντα[ι
Αρ]κτοι κ[υα]νεον π[ε]φ[υλαγμεναι ωκε]ανοῖ[ο
αυ]ταρ ο γ' αλλη]ν μ[ε]ν ν[εατη] [ν]ε]ται[
50 αλ]λην δε ςπειρη[ι π]ερι[τεμνε]ται [η με]ν οἱ [ακρη
ουρ]η παρ κεφαλ[η]ν Ελι[κης] αποπαυ[ε]ται Αρ[κτου
ςπει]ρηι δ ε[ν Κυ]νοσο[υρα] κρη χει' η δε κ[ατ αυτην
ειλειτ]αι [κ]εφ[αλη]ν και οι [πο]δος ερχεται αχρι[ς
παλι]ν ορρος αυ[α]τρεχει· ου μεν εκε[ινη

55] κεφαλῆ[ι επιλαμ]πεται α . ηρ
 αλλα δ[υω] κροτ[α]φοις· δ[υο δ ομμ]ασι· εις δ ὑπεν[ερθεν
 [δρακοντος]
 εσχατι]ην ε[π]εχει· γεν[υος δεινοι]ο πελωρου·
 λοξον] δ' εστι καρη· νε[υοντι δε π]αμπαν εοικεν
 ακρην] εις Ελικης ου[ρην μαλ]α δ' εστι κατ ἰθυ
 60 και στο]μα και κροταφοι[ο τα δε]ξια νειάτωι [·
 κεινη] που κεφαλη[] τῆι ν[. .]ται ἠίχι [π]ερ α[κραι
 μισγο]νται δύσιές τε και αν[το]λαι αλλη[λ]ησι
 τηιδ αυ]το[υ μο]γέοντι κυλ[ινδε]ται αν[δρ]ι ε[οικος
 ειδωλο]ν τ[ο με]ν [ο]υτις επι[στατα]ι [α]μφ[ᾶ]δὸν [ει]πειν [·
 65 κρε]μα[ται μι]ν α[υτως
 κα]λεον[αι καμ]νον[·
 οκλαζον]τ[ι εο]ικεν απ[αμ]φοτερων δε οι ωμ]ων [·
 68 χειρες] αειρον[τ]αι τανυ[ται γε μεν] αλλυδις αλλη]ηι [·

Fr. 10 (col. iii 11-15)

79 ειω[ποι
 80 λεπ[τ-
] αλλ[·
 ·αμφ]οτεραι
 83 διν[ευει

Fr. 11-15 (col. iv 1-34)

103 ουδε π]οτ αρχαιων ηνήν[α]το φύλα [γυ]ναικων [·
 α[λλ α]γαμιξ εκαθητο και αθανατη περ εουσα· [·
 105 κα[ι ε Δ]ικην καλεεσκον· αγειρομενη δε γεροντ[α]σ
 η[ε π]ου ειν αγορήη η ευρυχορωι εν αγυ[ιηι
] δημοτέραις ηειδεν επισπενδουσα θεμ[ιστας
] αδει ο[υ]πω λευγαλεου τοτε νεικεος ηπιστ[αντο
 ο[υ]δε διακρισιος περιμεμφεος ουδε κ[υδοιμου
 110 αυ]τως δ ἐζών· χαλεπη δ απεκειτο θα[λασσα
 κ[αι] βιον ουπω νηες απόπροθεν ηγεί[νεσκον
 βοες και αροτρα και αυτη ποτνια [·
 π]αντα παρειχε Δικη δώτειρα [·

115 ό]φρ' ετι γαια γενος χρυσειον ε[φερβεν
 ολιγ]η τε και [ουκε]τι παμπα[ν
 π]αλα[ιω]νηθεα λα[ων
 κε]ινο κ[ατ αργ]υ[ρ]εον γ[ενος
 υπ]οδ[ειελος] ηχηέντ[ων] [·
 επ]εμισγετ]ο μειλιχι[οισιν] [·
 120] πλήσαι[το κολ]ωνας.[·
 καθαπτομ]ενη κακ[οτητος]·
 κ]αλευσι[ν]·
 γενε]ην ελιπ[οντο] χρυσει[·
 τε]ξεί[ε]ς θ[ε] διετελε[·
] [ρθμ] [·
 125 αν]αρ[σιον] αιμα· κ[·
 127 το]υς [δ α]ρα λαους [·
 ελιμπα]νε παπτάινοντας [·
 ετεθνασα]ν' οι δ [ε]γενοντο [·
 τατ[·
 130 ολο]ω[τερ] [οι] ανδρες· ανδ[·
 εχαλκευσα]ντο μαχ[αιρ]αν ετεκ[·
 α]ροτ[ηρ]ων[·
 κει]νω[ν γεν]ο[ς]·
] δ αρ ε[νασσατο
 φαινε]ται α[νθρωποισιν
 πολ]ύσκεπ[τοιο
 ωμ]ων ειςσε[·

42 η δ ετερ]η[. This verse (and 44) is omitted by S (it is unlikely that the trace in the papyrus might belong not to 42 but to 41, where an η is preceded by 4 letters).

46 ειλ]είται: the rising oblique stroke above]ε looks a bit too long to be part of the expected circumflex (cf 48 νοί[.] [·, dot well below the line, αμ]φι[·

47 άι[or perhaps just ά[.

φ]έρ[ο]ντα[ι: φέρονται Hipparchus, M^{pp} supra lineam: φύονται M in textu, AC [←S?]; φονατω L.

49 ο γ', a dot on the ο, perhaps part of a rough breathing?

αλλη]ν: άλλην MSS Σ: άλλης Martin (incompatible with trace and space in the papyrus).

[·] [·]εται[·] ν written above [·] (prima facie]εν, but it is conceivable that the apparent cross-bar of]ε, thicker and perhaps in a different ink, might in fact be a deletion stroke). MSS and testimonia are divided here: ἐπιτείνεταί Hipparchus, Germanicus (cf. also Avienus 142 f. ut artus / longius effusum spatiosa volumina tendunt?), S: ἀποτείνεταί M: ἐπιτέλλεται M^{pp}: ἀποτέμνεται ABEFHN (according to Bekker's apparatus): ὑποτέμνεται Bekker's L (Laur. xxviii 37), Buhle's Cod. Barb. (= Vat. Barb. gr. i 43) [these mss are assigned by Martin, Histoire 247 ff., to M's Planudean progeny, which, according to Martin, op. cit. 289-294, has been contamin-

ated with some source belonging to a different branch of the tradition: coincidence with L should imply that some form ending in *-τέμνεται* was at least a late antique variant]: *περιτέμνεται* Buhle's Cod.Vratisl. (= Vratisl. Rehdergeranus 35): *circumcidit* L. In the papyrus both text and variant end in *-νεται*; it is possible to interpret the traces preceding *ν* *supra lineam* as the last part of *μ* (with a rather curved last stroke), crossed out by a horizontal stroke: on the other hand it would not be easy to read them as *ι*. I would therefore assume that the papyrus had a compound of *-τένεται* in the text, and a compound of *-τέμνεται* *supra lineam*. The latter might have been induced by *περιτέμνεται* in 50 (though only]ερι[]αι is preserved in the papyrus): cf. a similar variant in 541. *ἐπιτείνεται* (with the accusative *ἄλλην* governed by the prefix) is audacious and, in my opinion, the most effective reading.

55 *ἐπιλαμ]πεται*: so MSS: *ἐπιτέλλεται* M^{pp}.

α. ηρ: *ἀκτήρ* MSS. The papyrus' reading is uncertain: perhaps *αἰθῆρ*. The first doubtful letter is an upright, perhaps slightly inclined to the right: *ς* *prima facie* unlikely (but cf. 107 *ἐπισπενδουσα*). Next to it an upper arc or, perhaps, a high horizontal; underneath it a dot low in the line might be part of a lower arc, but also the foot of an upright: *τ* would fill the gap better than *θ*, but is not particularly attractive. Of *η* only the feet are preserved. If *αἰθῆρ* was written, it must have been a mistake induced by the repetition of the previous ending in *-αι*; *αἰθῆρ* at line-end Aratus 1151, and often in other epic authors.

56 δ]νω: *δύω* G a.c., O [←S?]: *δύο* rell., Sext.Emp.

κροτ]αφοις and *ομι]αειν*: so MSS (cf. also Avienus 153–154, *sed saetosa duplex adolet duo tempora fulgor/et duo sub geminis oculi fulgoribus ardent*): *κροτάφους* et *δύματα* Sext.Emp. (Maass).

57 [δρακοντοε] (added by a different hand, though in a similar ink, then crossed out in darker ink) was perhaps once meant as an explanation rather than as a variant, though the word occurs at line-end in 70 and 187.

61 ν[. .]ται. MSS and testimonia offer *νήχεται*, *νίσεται* (so most editors), *νείσεται* (and, in some *recentiores* [Bekker's D and I=Par. gr. 2841 and Vat. gr. 1910], *νίσεται*). The space in the papyrus, which could hardly contain more than three letters, probably requires ν[ι]ε]ται.

ήχι, iota apparently deleted by a dot above. Maass and Martin always print ήχι; at 457 and 495 however M has ήχι. The former is prescribed as the correct form by Aristarchus and Didymus, the latter by Apollonius Dyscolus (cf. Erbse ad Σ II. 1.607).

62 *αλλη[λ]ηις[ω]*: *ἀλλήληϊων* M, *ἀλλήλαιων* S? (CO), *alterutri* L: *ἡλείοιο* Achilles (ter).

64 *με]ν*, foot of an upright and traces level with letter-tops: the latter might also belong to the following *ο*. [α]μφ[ά]δον: the first accent is vestigial, but too high to be part of the apex of *α*. If, as one would assume, *ἀμφαδόν* was meant, the second accent must be mistaken (cf. 107).

67 *εο]κεν*, after *κ* a lower arc at half height, whose shape suggests *ο* rather than part of the cross-bar of *ε*; above it a second hand has traced a rather wide left-hand arc (surface damaged to its right): it is possible that a blurred *ε* (or a mistaken *ο*) has been later adjusted to *ε*, but the final result is not satisfactory.

απ: so (ἀπ') Φ, M in rasura: *ἐπ'* M ante correctionem? et in marg., A.

68 *αλλη]η*: all the MSS have *ἄλλυδιε ἄλλη*. *ἄλλυδιε ἄλλη* (frequent hexameter ending from Homer on) means 'now one way, now another'; the expected meaning ('one <hand> this way, one that') is provided by the MSS reading.

80–81 On the edge, 1.5 cm to the left, a short vertical trace, presumably the end of a marginal note to the right of 46–47.

82 To the left of *α*, a dot at half-height. This is probably accidental; there is no sign elsewhere that this scribe used 'alignment dots' to guide his line-spacing (for examples see Turner, *GMAW*², p. 4).

103 *ηρήν[α]το*: so MSS: *ἠνήγατο* M.

107 *δημοτέρ]ας*: above *α*, a shallow arc (in the position of a grave accent), touching its top: a mistaken accent, rather than a false start to the letter.

ἐπισπενδουσα: *ἐπισπενδουσα* S (cf. the lemma of Σ in A): *ἐπισπέρχουσα* M. The scholia in M explain *ἐπισπέρχουσα* as *ἐπισπουδάουσα*, *σπειδουσα*, *διδάσκουσα*. M's reading is slightly more 'poetic' (cf. LSJ s.vv.) and *difficilior*.

107–108 To the left, line-ends from marginalia corresponding to 73–74 in the preceding column: 1] ., upright (perhaps joined from the left at the base by a descending oblique); 2] .αδε, foot of a descending oblique.

109 *περιμεμφ]εος*: *περιμεμφέος* M and other MSS, Stob. 4.378: *πολυμεμφέος* M^{pp} AC, lemma of Σ in some mss.

110 *δέζων*: implying δ' *έζων* (so most editors).

απεκείτο: so MSS: *ἐπέκειτο* Tzetztes.

111 *ηες*: after *η*, there is space for two letters; *ες* is written high up in this space, almost certainly by a different hand, with no clear traces of ink below (the surface is damaged, but some of the horizontal fibres survive). *ς* does not look like any normal letter in the main hand: it is possible to see the lower part of an upright (cut off by damage at the foot) and, extending rightwards from its top (the junction falls in a hole), a dipped horizontal sloping gently down. Presumably this was a sigma of the cursive type, with extended top; but it would be written lower than *ε* preceding, though still higher than *α* following.

ηγεί[νεσκον]: above the last two letters a horizontal stroke (same ink as the main text?), crossed out by a rising oblique stroke in a darker ink (two attempts toward an accent?). *ἠγίνεσκον* MSS (cf. *generis* L, from *γίνεσκον*). Though it must have been an easy spelling mistake (such as it probably was in Call. fr. 90 Pf.), the form with the diphthong was probably intentional in this passage. The verb was sometimes spelt *ἄγεινέω*: cf. Ap. lex. 6, 8, Hsch. A 412, 414, II. 24.784 in cod. T and PLitLond. 28. Hesychius connects this spelling with the explanations *ἄγειν ἐν νηϊ, τὸ ἐπὶ νεῶν ἄγειν καὶ ἐν ναυκί κυρίως*, which is very apposite in this context. It is impossible to tell if this form originates here from the author's intention (which I would not rule out), or from the thoughts of some later learned scholar.

115 *παμπα]ν*, of the dotted letters only minimal traces remain.

120 Unexplained ink under the last two letters: accidental?

122 *κ]αλευσι]ν*: so codd. plerique: *χατέουσι* *recentiores* quidam (Par. gr. 2403 *manus altera*, Buhle's Moser[uiensis Syn. Gr. 223=now Charecovensis Univ. 369] and Vratisl. [Rehdergeranus 35], Vat. gr. 1910), perhaps an ancient variant.

123–124, marginal notes: 1 *χρυσιο]* or *χρυσια]*, 2 *διετελε]*, *ε* represented by two broken traces in vertical alignment. I cannot explain the spelling *χρυσι-* (since the text refers to the Golden Age, one would expect rather some form of *χρυσούς*; a mention of *χρυσίων/χρυσία* cannot however be ruled out).

124 *τε]ξέ[ε]θ[ε]*: *θ* is represented only by a lower left-hand arc (*ς* would also be possible, but the spacing is less in favour). *τεξείεθε* codd.: *τέκνα τεκείεθε* Kaibel, Martin.

125]αρ[papyrus,]ρθμ[added above by a different hand, and crossed through: *ἀνάρσιον* codd.: *ἀνάρθμιον* Σ Q^{pp}, Schol. Aesch. *Prom.* 191 (cf. Martin, *Scholia vetera* p. xxvi; Hsch. s.v. *ἀναριθμιον* [ἀνάρθμιον Salm.]· *έχθρόν*).

In the right margin, *κ* with a rising oblique trace above. *κ* is a standard abbreviation of *κ(α)* (K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* 45). Alternatively, the superscript could be taken as a letter, conceivably *κ^α* for *κάτω*: this might indicate that the omitted verse 126 had been added in the lower margin (examples in McNamee 48 f.). However, the surviving portion of this margin (narrow, but deep and more or less central) shows no trace of writing.

126 The papyrus omits this verse. In the MSS, the beginning of 126 wavers between *έσεται ανθρώποις* and *έσσει^τ ἐν ανθρώποις*: it supplies a verb for the subjects in 125 (which might however be syntactically complete by itself, with ellipsis of the verb). Its latter half in most medieval MSS is *κακόν* (perhaps doubtful as *paradosis*?) or *κακού* or *κακῶν δ' ἐπικείσεται ἄλγος*. Some recent MSS offer *κακόν* (or *κακού*?) δ' οὐκ *έσεται ἀλκή* (based on Hes. *Op.* 201, with *κακού*), a reading known already in late antiquity, as the double version in the *Aratus latinus* shows. The verse is not translated by either Germanicus (cf. G. Maurach, *Germanicus und sein Arat* (Heidelberg 1978) 150) or Avienus (which does not necessarily imply that they did not read it), but it is known to the scholia (with the first reading in its latter half). Maass printed *κακόν δ' ἐπικείσεται ἄλγος*; Martin (after Voss) *κακῶν δ' ἐπικείσεται ἄλγος*. It is unlikely that this troublesome verse has been omitted in our papyrus by mere accident (though it does present a homoioteleuton with 127: *ΑΛΓΟΣ–ΑΛΑΟΥΣ*). We might compare certain Homeric verses that supply verbs to verbless subjects in the preceding line: these were sometimes deleted by Alexandrian scholars, see especially II. 9.416, and scholia ad loc. (with Erbse's note), and scholia ad II. 7.353a. However, I find it difficult to believe that somebody went so far as to delete a verse from Aratus' text on such grounds (rather than simply signalling the problem in a commentary or in a marginal note). On the other hand, the uncertainty about the reading of the last three words, where the choice is between a very flat general sentence and an almost verbatim quotation from Hesiod, might suggest that the whole verse has been patched together to provide the missing verb and a smoother conclusion to Dike's speech: an interpolation (although, according to current editions, there is no other case of an interpolated verse in the whole MSS tradition of Aratus).

130 *ολο]ωτεροι* corrected to *ολωτατοι* papyrus: *δλωότεροι* codd. *ferre omnes: δλωότατον* (*δλωότατοι*

voluit?) C [←S?]. The variant may be due to somebody who felt, rather pedantically, that, the Race of Bronze being preceded by more than one generation, a superlative was needed.

131 margin *ετεκ* [, the trace is a dot high in the line. Some form of *τίκτω* rather than of *τεκταίνω* (unsuitable as a paraphrase of *ἐχαλκεύαντο*)?

134] *δ αρ ε[νασσατο: ἄρ' ἐνάσσατο* SΦ: ἄρα νάσσατο M. In the papyrus, *ε*[seems clear, although oblique ink at the bottom left might suggest that it was altered to or from *a*. The augmented verb would violate Hermann's bridge (cf. however 903, with elision, as here).

137 *εσσεε*: *εἰλίσσεται* codd. fere omnes. A mere slip; write *εἰ(λι)σσε[ται* (XLVII 3321 offers a similar mistake in E. *Phoe.* 3; see Haslam ad loc.).

G. B. D'ALESSIO

4424. ARATUS, *Phaenomena* 324–36

48 5B.30/E(1–2)a

1.8 × 5 cm

Second/third century

A scrap of papyrus from the middle of a column, written along the fibres, back blank. The column width can be estimated at 8–9.5 cm.

The text is written in a small script of the Formal Mixed type, sloping gently to the right. *ε* is straight-backed, the tail of *ν* is not sinuous. *ε* and *ς* are narrow, but the contrast in width with *α*, *κ* and *λ* is not as striking as that with *η* and *ν*. Cf. Turner, *GMAW*² 34 (Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, assigned to the later ii AD), 84 (Plato, *Phaedrus*, datable to the mid-iii AD). The high stop and elision mark in 328 may have been inserted by a second hand.

Collated with the edition of J. Martin (1956), with additional information from the edition of E. Maass (ed. 2, 1955).

325 *νψου πε]πτηω[τα*
ουρα]νον εια[νιδων
τοιος] οι και φ[ρουρος
φαι]γεται αμ[φοτεροισι
ποικι]λος· αλλ' ο[ν παντα
γαστε]ρα κυαν[εος
330 *αστερ]ι βεβλητ[αι*
οξεα] χειριαει κ[αι
σειριο]ν ουκετ[ι κεινον
] . ι ψευδ[ονται
ρεια] γαρ ουν εκρ[ινε
335 *και τα μ]εν ερρ[ωσεν*
κεινου] και κατ[ιοντος

325 The papyrus does not support the suggestion of a lacuna after this line (Buttmann).

327 A heavy circular blot of ink above]ε may conceal a suprascript. But the other surviving letters exclude Buttmann's conjecture *φαίνετ' ὀπιθότεροιαι*.

328 *ἄλλ' οὐ* MF (sed non L) sch: *οὐ μὲν* Vaticanus 1910 eiusque affines.

332 *σειριο]ν*: perhaps remains of a high stop to the right of *ν*.

333 *φυταλαι* MSS. The traces would suit *φυτα]λ'αι*, the first iota inserted above the line.

M. RICHTER–P. J. PARSONS

4425. ARATUS, *Phaenomena* 516–25

49 5B.98

2.9 × 6.7 cm

Late first–early second century

A small fragment, broken on all sides, from a roll (the back is blank). The text is written along the fibres. The hand is the same as that of XXII 2321 (pl. VIII) (Anacreon) and XXXIV 2693 (pl. I) (Apollonius Rhodius), although in 4425 the letters are slightly larger and squarer, and the interlinear space wider; the same copyist wrote 4429 below (Lycophron). Mr Lobel noted the identity (2321 introd.); I suggest that POxyHels 2 (pl. 2) (Homer) should be added to the list, and possibly also XVII 2085 (Commentary on Euphorion) and PRyl III 551 (pl. 4) (Lycurgus), both recognised as similar by Lobel. This is scribe no. 17 in the list of J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 194, and the revised list by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll: Formats and Conventions* (Diss. Yale, 1992) 150.

Lobel (2321 introduction) suggested a date not later than the beginning of the second century, and indeed some features (pointed *α*, *θ* often with high cross-bar, *κ* with high junction of the obliques, heart-shaped *ο*, curving right side in *π*, flattened upper curve in *ς*) could be paralleled from manuscripts dated securely to the late first century, cf. Roberts, *GLH* 11*b* (dated to AD 94), or to the early second, cf. PMert III 101 (pl. I) of AD 109, Schubart, *PGB* 22a (for the date see E. Boswinkel in *PLBat* XXIII pp. 3–6), especially POxyHels 18 (pl. 12) of c. AD 124.

The lectional signs in line 520 are apparently due to the main hand; the deletion and correction in 522 may be by a second hand. There are suprascript notes in 522 (of unknown nature) and 523 (gloss, correction or variant?). The latter has been added, not necessarily by a second hand, in slightly more cursive script; so far as one can judge from the little surviving, this script seems different from the hands of the notes entered in 2693 and at 2321 fr. 14 (if this fragment is rightly assigned to the same MS as the others) and fr. 3 i.

The text has been formally collated with the edition of J. Martin (1956), but all previous editions since Buhle's (1793) have been used. However, information on the readings has largely been checked, revised and augmented by my own collations of 32 of the MSS; in the apparatus their readings are cited individually in place of Martin's

collective sigla Φ and Υ .¹ For further information about the MSS and the indirect tradition, see my forthcoming paper in *APF*, which reassesses the ancient textual tradition in the light of the papyri.

The papyrus seems to offer a new variant in 522, and also in 523, where the MSS are already divided. In 522 ἀπαμε[-, and in the interpretation of 520 ἐνι as ἐνι, it seems to agree with the main representatives of the two branches of the MS tradition.

· · · · ·
 μέ]γ κατα μηκ[οc
] κκελεων οc . [
] ζωνη ευφεγ[γρεοc
 αι]θομενης υ[δρ-
 520] κοραξ ἐν[ι
 τ]ωι δ οφίου[χ-
] . . . [v] ἀπαμε[-
 με α[
]ται θρ . [
 κεφα]λη και υπα[υχεν-
 525] . [
 · · · · ·

517 οcφ[or οcε[: δcση S; CBr; EMcPbPePiOd; Mb; PgBtVe; Pd; VfVg; PcVp, Hipp.: δcση M; VdPf; Va; Ed; MaLb; Ph; Pa: δcον Vc^{ac}: δcον Vc^{pe2}. δcση requires Hipp.'s δκλάc, not δκλάξ (codd.), which better suits δcον; δcση ... δκλάc seems superior; δcον emendation or ancient variant?

518 ζωνη: ζώνη codd. omnes (praeter Lb): ζώνη Lb: ζώνης codd. Hipparchi (teste Manitius). ευφεγ[γρεοc. The MSS variously offer εϋ- and ἐϋ- (or ἐν-); in the papyrus, no lectional sign is displayed. φεγγέοc codd. omnes, Hipp. (except for -φθεγγέοc Hipp.^B, teste Manitius).

519 αι]θομενης: αιθομένηc codd. omnes (praeter Pi): -νω Pi (individual error). υ[δρ-: ὕδρης codd. plerique, Hipp.: ὕδρας (banalisation) CBr; Lb; PgBtVe.

520 ἐνι: ἐνι (vel ἐνι) δ' M; S; VdPf; Va; CBr; Ed; EMcPbPePiOd; MbMaLb; PdPh; Pa; VfVg; Vc; PcVp, Σ^{ic}, Hipp. (ἐνιοι Hipp.^B, teste Manitius): ἐνι οἱ δ' PgBtVe. In the papyrus, acute accent certain, smooth breathing possible (upright visible, though partly covered by a blot). The diacritics indicate that ἐνι stands for ἐνεικι, in accordance with the rule stated by ancient grammarians: see Schol. P *Od.* 4.846 (l. 240.11 Dind.); B. Laum, *Das Alexandrinische Akzentuationsystem* (1928) 173 f. Modern editors generally print ἐνι δ'.

521 τ]ωι: of ω the right-hand part, the junction with the first curve being obscured by a displaced fibre (not ο). ἐν τῷ codd., Hipp.: ἐνι οἱ conii. Voss.

οφιου[χ-: οφιούχεια codd. plerique, Hipp.: οφιούχια CBr; PgBtVe.
 522] . . . [v]: αἰητοῦ codd., Σ^{ic+}, Hipp. (αἰεί τοι, αἰεί τοι, αἰεί τοι vv. ll. in Hipp.^B). In the papyrus, υ (crossed

¹ In these lists, related MSS are grouped between semicolons. I have not used any collective sigla because the current state of research does not often allow us to reconstruct the common ancestors of each group or groups: there is still much to do before we can properly assess the extent of cross-contamination among MSS, and so elucidate their precise stemmatic relationship.

out with three or four parallel oblique strokes) is not in serious doubt; immediately before it, uncertain traces, apparently added within the line, perhaps a tiny upright followed by a c-shape; before that, the right-hand part of a round letter (ο seems inevitable, though the size, smaller than usual, is compatible with φ). Perhaps αἰητ]ου was altered to αἰητ]οc (but in that case the 'tiny upright' must be accidental), to make it the subject of the sentence: a clear banalisation (Σ seems to show that the whole expression was not immediately intelligible). Lb has αἰητοῦ γ', but the papyrus confirms that the γ' is no more than a late (individual?) attempt to obviate the hiatus (though this is of a type very common in Aratus and elsewhere).

In the suprascript,] . [is the foot of an upright. There is no means of telling which hand wrote this, and whether it was relevant to the textual alteration below.

ἀπαμε[-: ἀπαμείρεται M; S^{ac} (ut vid.); VdPf; Va; Ed; EMcPbPePiOd; MbMa; PdPh; Vg; Vp^{ac} (ut vid.), Hipp., leg. Avien. 1008 (nec Iovis armigero caret alite): ἀπομείρεται CBr; Pe; Lb; PgBtVe; Pa; Vf; Vc: ἀπαμείβεται S^{pe1} Vp^{pe1} (in utroque cod., ut vid., litt. β ex ρ correctā) Pc: quid Σ, Germ. 509, Arat. Lat. p. 279.7 M prae oculis habuerint, incertum (the meanings of ἀπαμείρεται (on the verb see now M. Campbell on Ap. Rhod. 3.186) and ἀπομείρεται as perceived in antiquity are unclear in many respects, which makes it hard to determine which reading was read by Germ., Arat. Lat. and even Σ). There is some controversy about whether ἀπαμείρεται or ἀπομείρεται is correct here, see most recently Martin's note and M. Erren, *Die Phaenomena des Aratos* (1967) 165 n. 2; *Aratos Phaenomena* (1971) 85.

523]ται: ἀητέται codd. fere omnes, Hipp.: αἰεί κείται Ed, fortasse prae oculis habuerunt Cic. *Ar.* xxxiii 294 Buescu (*instal*), Avien. 1009 (*est*), Arat. Lat. p. 279.8 M (*adiacel*): ἀντέται Lb (simple error).

θρ . [: μέγας codd. omnes (praeter Vg), Hipp.: ταχύc Vg, leg. Arat. Lat. p. 279.8 M (*velocissimus*), utrum respexerit Planudis v. 11 (*ἀκρότερον*) incertum. In the papyrus, ρ damaged but not in doubt; then ink at line-level, close enough to suggest foot of oblique rather than upright. I should restore θρα[cuc (for θάρκοc in connexion with the eagle see Pind. *Pyth.* 5.111 f. with schol., Bacch. 5.19-21). As a reading, μέγας (paralleled by Call., *H.* 1.68; cf. *Od.* 19.538, Pind., *I.* 6.50, Theoc. 17.72, Moer. 1.5 Powell) is probably superior, but θραcύc seems more incisive than ταχύc, which was presumably generated under the influence of the epic formula ταχύc ἄγγελοc (of the eagle, *Il.* 24.292, 310).

Suprascript: με . α[. The epsilon is written in the cursive shape; at the end apparently alpha, written more cursorily with a loop instead of a point; in between, ink suggesting the right-hand end of a horizontal just below the top level. This might represent a gloss on θραcύc, μεγα[θυμοc (H. Maehler) or μεγα [ηθοc εχων; or μεγα[c (the reading of almost all the MSS) as interlinear variant or correction.

524 υπα[υχεν-: ὑπαύχενον codd. plerique, Hipp. (praeter Hipp.^A): -χενοc Pe: -χέμιον Hipp.^A (teste Manitius); ἰππαύχενον Ed; Vf.

525] . [: tops of two slightly converging uprights or obliques, consistent with υ or η. This suggests παρβολαδ]η[v, which would suit the spacing; or ορθο]υ[c, but in that case τοῦc μέν must have been omitted.

R. LUISELLI

4426. COMMENTARY ON ARATUS, *Phaenomena* 452-5

37 4B.104/B(1-3)b

5.3 × 8.5 cm

Second-third century

A fragment from a roll (the writing runs with the fibres; the back is blank), with part of one column from a commentary on the *Phaenomena*. There are remains of the right-hand margin; the certain restorations in lines 7-15 fix the left-hand margin; the original column-width can be estimated at c. 5.5 cm. The hand is a small, plain example of the 'Severe Style', to be assigned to the later second or to the third century AD. There are no lectional marks, except for an acute accent in 15, and no abbreviations of the kind commonly employed in commentaries. Iota adscript was written in 11. The lemmata begin with a new line in 5 (with a blank line-end preceding) and in 7, but in 12 the next lemma begins in mid-line, without even a space to mark the transition; if

the line-beginnings are correctly reconstructed, the scribe did not use *ekthesis* to set off the lemmata.

Of the papyri of Aratus so far recovered (see above, p. 101–2), three bear marginal annotation: XV 1807 + PKöln IV 185 (roll, ii AD); PBerol 5865 (codex, iii–iv AD); PLitLond 34 + MPER III 17 (codex, iv AD). The annotation is desultory, and consists largely of gloss and paraphrase; PBerol 5865 has also some astronomical and mythological explication (see M. Maehler, *APF* 27 (1980) 19–32). 4426 is the first example of a systematic *hypomnema*. There are some verbal agreements with the medieval scholia (see 2–3, 16–19). But the Oxyrhynchus commentator, like the others, concentrates on elementary verbal explanation which is hardly more than paraphrase; he gives no sign of drawing on the tradition of astronomical scholarship that is so richly represented in the later scholia.

For the text of Aratus we have referred to J. Martin's edition (1956), for the ancient commentaries to his *Scholia in Aratum Vetera* (Teubner, 1974).

]ρδετ[.]επ[.]...μ[.
]δετουτοπ[.]δινευο[.
]μιγμενο[.]ερχοντα[.
] [.] [.] [.]
 5]αλινωρ[.]ιν κα[.]
] [.]κατατασα[.]ζωρας [.
]καιπανταμ[.]αυτως [.
]ευεναρηρ[.]οεξης [.
]αρτατησνυ[.]τοσα [.
 10]ματαωσαυτωςλιανεν [.
]υρανωιαρηρεναγαλμα[.
]κτοσοιαστερεσοιδε[.
]οιπεντεαστερες [.
]παντοθεν [.
 15]ιδεκαδ[ε]ι [.
]ωναπ[.]ανων [.
]ν.ε.αι [.
]ανωμενων [.
] [.]λα [

]ρδετ[.]επ[.]...μ[.
]δετουτοπ[.]δινευο[.
 με]μιγμενο[ι]...ερχοντα[.
] [.] [.] [.]
 5 ἐξείης π]αλίνωρ[α] πάλ]ιν κα[.] [(452)
 ...]. [.] κατὰ τὰς α[ὐτὰ]ς ὥρας
 τὰ γὰρ] καὶ πάντα μ[ἀλ'] αὐτως [(452–3)
 οὐρανῶι] εὖ ἐνάρηρ[εν τ]ὸ ἐξήης·
 πάντα γ]ὰρ τὰ τῆς νυ[κ]τὸς ἀ–
 10 γάλ]ματα ὡσαύτως λίαν ἐν
 τῶι ο]ὐρανῶι ἄρηρεν. ἀγάλμα–
 τα τῆς νυ]κτὸς οἱ ἀστέρες. οἱ δ' ἐ– (454–5)
 πιμιξ̄ ἄλλ]οι πέντε ἀστέρες
 οὐδὲν ὁμοῖοι] πάντοθεν
 15 εἰδώλων δυοκα]ιδεκα δ[ε]ι–
 νεύονται ...]ων ἀπ[λ]ανῶν
]ν.ε.αι [.
]ανωμενων [.
] [.]λα [

1-4]δνεο[and]μιγμενο[seem to refer to verses 454-5, where the scholia explain ἐπιμίξ δνεύονται ἀντί τοῦ ἀναμειγμένοι ... ἤτοι ἀναμειγμένοι ἢ ἀνάμικτοι τοῖς ἀπλανέσιν ἄστροις But the lemma for these verses follows in 12-16. Perhaps the compiler has put together notes in a jumbled order; perhaps this was a general comment (of the kind which recurs at 16 ff.), making the basic distinction between the fixed stars and the planets.

1] , long descender (ρ, υ²).

2]δε τοῦτο, τοῦ τόπ[ου?

2-3 In τοπ[π represented by traces of an upright and a high horizontal; γ could be considered. Apparently]δι, not]αι.]μιγμενο[or possibly]μιγμενω[.]ερ rather than]αρ. δνεο[][[ται (ανα)μ]μιγμενο[would paraphrase the text, but the space is too narrow for [ταιαναμε] and too wide for [ταιμε]. Perhaps consider δνεο[]μενοι με]μιγμενω[ε, then αν]ερχοντα[ι or the like?

4 What remains of the line is blank. There would be room for up to c. 7 letters at the beginning.

5-6 ἐξείης π]αλίνωρα: since the line before is blank, the beginning of 5 must have contained lemma, not a continuation of an earlier note. The unique word παλίνωρα is explained, cf. sch. 451: ἐφεξῆς κείμενα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας ἀνατέλλοντα καὶ δύόμενα: sch. 454 τὸ δὲ παλίνωρα, πάλιν τὰς ὥρας ἄγοντα ἢ πάλιν κατὰ τὰς ὥρας ἀνατέλλοντα καὶ δύοντα. In the papyrus, space suits [πάλ]ιν but not [κατὰ τάξ]ιν; at the end, και[rather than κατ[. We do not see how to fit in a suitable participle

8] εὐ ἐνάρηρ[εν: so MΦ: αἶεν ἄρηρεν Eust. Od. p. 627, Athen. 489E (ἄρηρον).

14 πάντοθεν: so M I sch. Φ (ὑπὸ ἡμῶν L): ἔμπαλιν Achilles bis, cf. Germ. 438-9, Avien. 913.

16-19 Cf. sch. 454: προειπῶν περὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν μεταβαίνει νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν πλανήτων λόγον. In the papyrus, it is tempting to restore περὶ τ]ῶν ἀπλανῶν | [προειπῶ]ν μεταβαί[νει ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν πλ]ανωμένων | [λόγον The difficulty lies in μεταβ: μ is satisfactory (better than η); τ suits one apparent trace (left end of horizontal), but not the sloping ink above it; β would be possible (minuscule traces); but unless the joining fragments are misplaced, there is hardly room for α. Just possibly μετ^αβαί, the alpha added above the tau.

R. DILCHER-P. J. PARSONS

4427. CALLIMACHUS, *Aetia* III fr. 75.11-15

A 8B. 6/6

5.5 × 6.5 cm

First/second century

A scrap of papyrus with writing across the fibres; on the back, a few line-ends in cursive script, written along the fibres. The papyrus preserves the top of a column, with 3.5 cm of upper margin; the upper part of the margin is occupied by six lines of scholia. The original column-width can be estimated at about 10-13 cm.

The main hand belongs to the plain, awkward type of Roberts, *GLH* 10c (a document of AD 66) and 14 (Pindar, *Paeans*, first hand; first half of second century?). The same hand apparently supplied the reading marks: acute, grave and circumflex accents, rough breathing. In what little remains, every word carries one or more such marks; clearly this difficult text had been carefully prepared for reading, possibly in school (cf. R. Criboire, *Writers, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 85). Elision is apparently not marked in 14. The scholia are written by a thinner pen in a small informal script which combines cursive letter-forms (ε, τ) with more literary ones, notably Α in the capital shape. There are occasional ligatures, but generally the letters are separated one from another; for such scholiastic scripts, compare the first hand of XXXI 2536, *Hypomnema on Pindar* (Turner, *GMAW* no. 61). The annotator wrote iota adscript in the only place that required it (schol. 6). He does not use abbreviations.

The text was already known from VII 1011. 4427 adds nothing, except to confirm that Αἰδέω was correctly restored in 15. The scholia refer to proper names further down the column: Lygdamis and the river Parthenios, mentioned in fr. 75. 25-7.

. . . .
] . . .] .
] . . .] .
]θη υπο τη . . .
] . περι τον λυγδ[αμιν
]ζων [

5 παρθενιο]ς ποταμος της παφλα[γονιας
 ποτ]αμωι παρθενιος ποτα[μος

] οι βόες οξείαν δερ[κομενοι
] δέιελινην τήν δ [ειλε
 αι]γας ἐς αγριάδα[ε
 ψ]εῦδομενοι δ ι[ε]ρην
 την κουρηνη] ἀἰδε[ε]ω

fr. 75 11
 15

Scholia.

Assuming that the supplement παρθενιο]ς in line 5 is correct, it seems very likely that the lines of the scholia began in almost exactly the same alignment as the lines of the text. But there is no way of telling in principle how far they extended to the right.

2-4 relate to fr. 75.23, *Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ τῆμος ἔκηδε κάσις*. The story appears more fully in *Hymn* 3.251 ff.: Lygdamis led an army of Cimmerians against Ephesos, and (it is implied) Artemis destroyed them. According to Hesychius s.v., Lygdamis burnt the temple of Artemis. Assuming that the lines of scholia were the same width as those of the text, there would be room in lines 1-4 to tell the elements of this tale, to explain why Artemis might have been vexing Lygdamis.

2]θη before ὑπό seems likely to be the ending of a third person singular aorist passive. One would then expect a genitive after ὑπό, but the traces after τη do not seem reconcilable with c.

3] , an upright: right-hand part of μ, ν, π or ι possible. περι τὸν Λύγδ[αμιν probably describes the Cimmerian host of which he was the leader.

4]ζων, of ζ only the tips. The note on Lygdamis seems to have ended here; the rest of the line is blank.

5-6 relate to fr. 75.25 *ἔκλυζεν ποταμῷ λύματα Παρθενίω*. Pfeiffer's note there collects the ancient testimonia about this River Parthenios. Most of them contain a geographical note; all of them give some kind of an explanation for the name, most often that the virgin Artemis used to bathe in the river (this suits the context of fr. 75.22-7 very well). Here we have geography in 5; we might therefore look for an account of the name in 6.

5 παρθενιο]ς. This supplement is tempting because we expect a new note to begin with a lemma; it has the advantage that, if it is right, the line-beginning ranged almost exactly with the line-beginnings of the text below.

Παφλα[γονίας: so Schol. Ap. Rh. 2.936 ff.

6 ποτ]αμῶι, of α only an oblique stroke descending from left to right, λ also possible.

If line 5 extended to the full average width of the column (estimated at c. 12 cm), there would be room

for c. 30 letters after Παφλα[γονίας; if line 6 ranged with line 5, there is room for three to five letters before ποτ]αμῶν. A comment on the name could easily be fitted in, for example Παρθένιος[ς] ποταμὸς τῆς Παφλα[γονίας ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἐλούετο, ὄθεν] (6) [τῶν ποτ]αμῶν Παρθένιος ποτα[μὸς ὄνομα ἐγένετο.

M. RICHTER-P. J. PARSONS

4428-4429. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra*

Two further papyri of this work have been identified among the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society, and are published here. Lycophron is a relative rarity in Egypt:

4429	588-91, 595-603	i AD	Oxy
PMünch II 39	1108-28, 1156-63	i/ii AD	Fay
XVII 2094 + XLIX 3445	586-92, 747-56, 764-9, 850-3, 924-39, 1345-79	ii AD	Oxy
XLIX 3446	1239-50	ii AD	Oxy
4428	151-66, 182-97	iii AD	Oxy
PSI VI 724	comm. on 743-7?	iii? AD	?

XXVII **2463** too has been referred to Lycophron, but Callimachus seems a more likely claimant (Livrea, *CQ* 39 (1989) 141 = Livrea, *Studia Hellenistica* I (1991) 197).

In collating the texts, we have used the editions of Scheer (1881) and Mascialino (1964); for the scholia the edition of Scheer (1908). For a general account of the medieval tradition, see H. Erbse in H. Hunger etc., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* I (1961) 251 f. For an appraisal of the textual significance of the papyri of Lycophron (PMünch II 39 and XVII **2094** only) see U. Criscuolo, *Dioniso* 44 (1970) 72 ff.

4428. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra* 151-66, 182-97

15 2B.52/C(f) 11.4 × 10.4 cm Early third century

Parts of two consecutive columns, the first preserving its top and an upper margin of 1 cm, with an intercolumnium of 3.8 cm. Column height may be estimated at around 19 cm. There were 30 verses to a column; the whole of the work (1474 verses) must have run to some 50 columns, filling a roll at least 6 metres long. Written along the fibres; the back is blank.

The hand is a fine specimen of the 'Severe Style', large and upright. It is very similar to, but not I think the same as, the hand of XVII **2098** (=Roberts, *GLH* 19b),

which is assigned with a good degree of probability to the earlier part of the third century. In the margin opposite col. i there are several glosses written in a near-cursive script. The same hand, which may well be contemporary with that of the text, has scribbled something in the spaces between the first letters of vv. 182-3 and 184-5.

There are occasional accents (acute 152, 185, 189; circumflex 166), a quantity mark (*longum* 152), and punctuation at the end of two verses in the form of short oblique strokes (155, 165). Most of the lectional signs have been added by another hand (paler ink). Elision is effected, but not signalled, in all possible cases. The iotas adscript are always written where required. A supralinear addition in 186, making good an omission, seems to be by the original scribe.

The papyrus backs a modern conjecture in 158, and in 154 confirms the antiquity of a good variant, attested only by the *EM* and one of the prose paraphrases.

A preliminary transcript was made by A. Kolb and C. Selzer.

	col. i		col. ii
	Top		
	] γοναίς		[]
	Εννα]ιά ποτε		οπ[ο]ι[α] κούρο[ς]
	Ξιφηφο]ρος η δημη		οι δ αυ προγεγ[νητειραν
	] φάρωι		βύκται[ς]ι [χ]ερ[νυψαντες
155	εν]δατουμηνη '	185	του Κυρίου δρ[ακοντος
	βαρυ]ν ποθον		ην° ξυνευ[ος
	αρπα]κτηριον το.[		εντος ματ[ευων
	αρπα]υς γνας		δαρον φαληρ[ιωσαν
	Μολπ]ιδος πετραν		Κέλτου πρ[ο]ς εκ[βολαισι
160	Ομβ]ριωι δεμας	190	ποθων δαμαρ[τα
	πενθεροφθ]οροις τον οιω		λαιμον προθ[εισα
	] μυρτι		βαθυσ δ εσω ρη[γμινος
	σκυφο]ν		ερημος ε[ν
	]		στενοντο[ς
165	γεν]ει '	195	και την αφαντ[ον
	ηνιοστροφ]ων		Γραιαν σφαγειω[ν
	. . . . .		]π[αφλαζοντος

154: φάρωι: so *EM* p: τάφω MSS. Shadowy traces to the right, perhaps in the same ink as the lectional signs. The lower part looks most like α, with three parallel bars crossing it, further ink above: I cannot

reconcile the remains with any writing of *τάφωι*. Perhaps here, and again to the right of 159 and 163, we are dealing with offsets.

157 mrg. *το* [. After omicron a high dot on the edge. Presumably *τοῦ* [*Ποσειδάωνος* (probably abbreviated), glossing *Ναυμέδοντος*, as in the scholia.

158 *γύας*: so Reichlin: *γύιας* MSS.

159 Again, shadowy ink higher up to the right of the line-end.

161 mrg. *τὸν Οἰνό(μασον)*.

162 mrg. *Μυρτί(λλος)*, explaining *ὁ Καδμύλλου γόνος*.

163 mrg. There are very dim traces of perhaps five letters to the right. Their position would suggest a gloss, but I cannot make anything of it. See 154n.

182–3 In the interlinear space to the left of the line-beginnings, and just overlapping the first letter of 183, traces which look like the work of the annotating hand. See on 184–5.

184 [*χ*]ερ[*νυψαντες*: so AB sch. p: *χερνάβουσι* CDET.

184–5 There is ink above the initial *τ* of 185, which might be read]*ρα* or]*ρα*., and more to the left of it. The hand looks the same as that of the other marginalia. We might therefore take this as a note on 185, or as a projecting note on the corresponding lines in col. i (155–6). But I have not thought of a convincing restoration.

185 The lacuna after this verse postulated by Scheer (in *RhM* 34 (1879) 285, but not mentioned in his edition), who was followed by Hurst in his recent edition, remains unsubstantiated.

189 *Κέλτου*: so d: *Κέλτρου* AVBCDE: *Κέλτοῦ* Holzinger: *Ἰετρου* C. G. Müller (Scheer claims the emendation as his, and defended it in *RhM* 34 (1879) 471, but was anticipated by Müller, who, although somewhat reluctantly, suggested the reading in the first volume of his edition of Tzetzes' scholia on Lycophron (Leipzig, 1811), p. 34).

192 *δ* om. A.

196 *φαγειω*[*ν*: so AE: *φαγιων* A¹BCD.

N. GONIS

4429. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra* 588–91, 595–603

123/66

Fr. 2 8.5 × 9.2 cm

Late first/early second century

Two adjacent fragments (three tiny scraps remain unplaced), which probably combine to give the foot of a single column (see 592–4 note). The writing runs with the fibres; the back is blank. The lower margin survives to c. 3 cm; the column width can be estimated as c. 8.5 cm. Mr Lobel identified the hand as that of the Anacreon XXII 2321 and other manuscripts; see 4425 introduction. This difficult text was quite liberally marked up: accents, quantity marks (600, 602), middle stop (591); the dirty and damaged surface may conceal other lectional signs. Iota adscript was inserted in 600; iotacisms were corrected by adding epsilon (600 *κλιτει*) or deleting it (599, dotted; 602, crossed out). Some of the lectional signs seem to be in a paler ink, and a more cursive hand wrote the textual alteration at the end of 600.

In 591 the papyrus seems to offer a reading known only from the indirect tradition; new variants in 598 (where the transmitted reading is unmetrical) and in 600.

(fr. 1)

θε]αc
οχ]λον
].
]. ου.
].
].
].

(fr. 2)

595 μοιρ]αγ οι θαλαςcίαν
πο]ρκέων δικην
ωδαλθεν]τες ευγληνοιc δομ]ην
]. φο . [. .] αγρωσσοντες ελλοπων θορρο]υc
φερ]ωνυ[μο]ν νηc[[ε]]ίδα νασσονται πρό[[ὐ]]μου[
ωι-γ-
600 θε]ατρομόρφωι προς κλίτει γεωλοφ[ον]]
αγ]υιοπλαστησαντε[c εμπεδ]οιc τομαιc[
πυκ]γας καλ[[έ]]ϊας ζηθ[ον εκμι]μουμεν[οι
ομ]ου δ ε[c] άγραν καπι κ[οιταιαν] γαπην

590] . indistinct trace, perhaps accidental.

591] ου: *τρατοῦ* MSS: *ὄχλου* (from 589) Et.M.: *στόλου* Steph. Byz. RV. The trace in the papyrus (a short stroke at line-level, sloping up to join the omicron) suits λ but not, it seems, τ.

592–4 Blank papyrus, which we have taken as the right-hand margin of three shorter verses. Alternatively, the blank might represent a lower margin. In that case the next column had only 12 lines (592–603), with a written height of c. 7.5 cm and a roll-height of c. 13 cm: not an impossible format (compare Turner, *GMAW* no. 21, IV 659, and no. 39, the BM Herodas), but relatively rare.

598] φο . [: low trace, rising to the right, as in α, δ, λ, μ; after ο, perhaps remains of upright curving leftwards at the foot, space only for narrow letter; then arc open to the right, and a stroke slightly sloping forwards from the top left, as in c or o. Above ο and the following letter, two heavy dots of ink. The MSS have *ράμφει* (*ράφαι* B) *δ' αγρώσσοντες*, where editors accept the correction *ράμφεcci* (Ald.). In the papyrus, ρα]μφοιc[ι δ would suit trace and space, but *ράμφος* masc. seems not to be attested; it is not clear whether the ink above οi is the remains of a correction.

599 [[ε]] dotted above, [[ὐ]] struck through.

600]ατ, unexplained horizontal trace above τ.

[[ον]] struck through, ωι written above, and above the iota -μ- or -ν-: *γεωλόφω* MSS. The third reading of the papyrus was presumably *γεωλόφων*, restoring the word to its more common usage as a noun.

601]οιc, traces of ink above ι and c, and more above αι at the end: variant reading?

602 [[ε]] struck through.

603 καπι: unexplained ink after the alpha; perhaps *καπι* was intended (aphaeresis in place of crasis, cf. V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (1968) 24–5).

K. BÜHLER–P. J. PARSONS

4430-2. THEOCRITUS AND 'MOSCHUS'

Fragments of two more papyri of Theocritus, and a fragment of scholia, have been identified among the unpublished holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society since the publication of the Theocritean pieces in volume L 3545-52.

As a basis for collation we have used the larger edition of Gow (ed. 2, 1952), with consultation of the third edition of Gallavotti (Rome, 1993); for *Megara* (4431) the OCT of Gow (1952). The chief papyri of Theocritus are referred to by Gow's sigla:

Ⓟ¹ 2064 (A. S. Hunt, J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* (1930)) + L 3548

Ⓟ² XIII 1618

Ⓟ³ PAntinoe (Hunt & Johnson, *ibid.*) + PAnt III 207

Ⓟ⁴ Perg. Louvre 6778 + Perg. Rainer.

4430. THEOCRITUS, *Idylls* vii 84-7, 127-30 and iii 8-14, 34-7, 39-44

88/213

fr. 3 3.1 × 5 cm

Second century

Seven fragments from a roll (writing along the fibres and backs blank) containing *Idylls* of Theocritus. One scrap remains unplaced. No margins survive except for 0.7 cm of left-hand margin in fr. 6, which also shows evidence for Maas' law.

The text is written in an informal rounded hand. Serifs and hooks on the extremities of most letters help to maintain a generally bilinear impression. *α* is triangular with initial wedge, *ε* has the crossbar generally high. I would compare it to the London *Hyperides* (Roberts, *GLH* 13a) and XV 1810, and assign it to the second century, earlier rather than later. The text carries accents (acutes at vii 128, iii 11; graves at vii 128 (cancelled), iii 14; circumflex at iii 10), a rough breathing (vii 128), a diaeresis (vii 129), elision marks and punctuation (high points at iii 12, 44), all apparently added by the same hand. It is not possible to say whether iota adscript was written. The text has been corrected at vii 128 (see note), but it is difficult to be sure whether this is the work of a second hand.

The occurrence of fragments of *Idyll* iii along with vii indicates that iii must have followed immediately after vii in the roll, as in Ⓟ¹ and PBerol 21182, cf. 3548 introd. On the order of the *Idylls* in the manuscripts of Theocritus see Gow I lxvi-ix, and K. Gutzwiller, 'The evidence for Theocritean poetry books' in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, G. C. Wakker (eds), *Theocritus (Hellenistica Groningana II)* (1995) 119-48.

The papyrus overlaps part of Ⓟ¹. (Some verses are also present in PBerol 21182, but there is no coincidence.) There are three novelties: an unattested word order at iii 11, difficult to evaluate; a new but almost certainly corrupt reading at iii 12; and another new and possibly right reading at iii 42.

fr. 1	vii 84-7

	]κα[τεκλασθησ
85	κηρ]ια φε[ρβομενος
	]επ ε[μευ
	το]ι εγ[ω

fr. 2	vii 127-30

	κ]αλα γ[οσφιν
	λ]αγώβολ[ον
	ξε]ινηιον [
130	αρι]στερα [

fr. 3+4	iii 8-14

	καταφαινο]μαι εγγυθεν [
	απαγ]ξασθαι με π[οσσαι
10	τ]ηνώθε καθ[ειλον
	]και άλλα τοι αυρ[ιον
	θυμαλγ]εσ[αχο]ς' ειθε γεν[οιμαν
	μελις]α κα[ι
	]τὰν[

fr. 5	iii 34-7

	τ]ο[ι
35	]κα[ι
	]κα[ι
	αλλετ]αι [

fr. 6 iii 39-44

] κα]ι [.
 40] ιππομεν[ησ
] μαλ' εν χερσι[ν
] ωσ ειδ' ωσ εμ[ανη
] αγελαν χ[ω
 Π]υλον· α δε[.

vii 128]αγώβολ[ον. The scribe initially placed a grave accent above omega, and an acute over omicron. At a later stage the grave was cancelled (or overwritten by an acute), perhaps by a second hand, and an acute was added a little further to the right, while the acute over omicron was cancelled by heavy dots above and below. If so, the original λαγώβολον was changed to λαγώβολου.

Editors print λαγώβολου, in accordance with the normal rule about compounds in -βολου with active meaning (W. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* § 464). But the second hand here made it proparoxytone, and so it is in 3548. The same accent is transmitted in Eustathius' quotation of Th. iv 49 at *Il.* 4.847.4 Van der Valk; but he wrote -βολου at *Od.* 3.253.19.

iii 10 ἀλλά ττοι ανρ[ιον: αὐριον ἄλλα ττοι MSS. The papyrus' word-order is not unmetrical (ττοι is postpositive, so that Hermann's law is not violated). In ἀλλά, the second acute derives from the enclitic following, in accordance with ancient doctrine (Chandler, op. cit. § 966).

12 εἶθε: αἶθε MSS. The papyrus presents a banalisation, which is evidenced elsewhere in Theocritus' manuscripts, cf. iv 20 and 49 (αἶθε W: εἶθε rell.) and xv 70, where B³ offers αιθε, but this 'has been altered probably from εἶθε'. On the issue see T. Molinos Tejada, *Los dorismos del Corpus Bucolicorum* (1990) 353.

42 ωσ: More ink to left of upper left-hand part of omega than expected.

ειδ': ἴδεν MSS. 3548 seems to offer ι]δ, cf. the editor's note ad loc.; as far as I can see εἶδ would be rather long for the space there. εἶδ' is not impossible in itself. Admittedly Theocritus writes χῶσ ἴδον ὡσ ἐμάνη at ii 82. But Homer, who provided the pattern for Theocritus' phrase, has both ὡσ ἴδεν at *Il.* 14.294 and ὡσ εἶδ' at 19.16. It is certainly interesting that two second century manuscripts agree in this against the medieval tradition. I believe that there is a good chance that 3548 represents the intermediate stage of the corruption, that is εἶδ' > ἴδ' > ἴδεν; ἴδ is easier to trace back to εἶδ through iotacism rather than to ἴδεν. (We find similar variations in the medieval tradition at xv 25 with ἴδεν plerique: εἶδεν KTr; and xxiii 37 with ἴδης edd.: εἶδης MSS.) The papyrus' reading need not have disappeared entirely in the Middle Ages: Σ iii 42e has ὡσ εἶδεν as lemma, and that may imply that some manuscript source had εἶδεν.

The apostrophe after εἶδ apparently is written over paler ink which I cannot explain. It looks like a rough breathing of a shape commonly known as Turner's form 1; one might associate it with the ensuing ωσ, but it is too far to the left: misunderstanding of the exemplar by the scribe, who later placed (correctly) the elision mark?

44 Same punctuation in 3548.

Unplaced fragment

Fr. 7

.
] . α . [

] . α τ . [

] . . [

.

Fr. 7

1] ., lower part of right-hand oblique of α, λ . [., high trace on edge 2] ., high minute right-hand arc (?) on edge (rough breathing above α?) . [., lower part of upright 3] . [., acute accent?; top of triangular letter

N. GONIS

4431. [THEOCRITUS], *Idyll* xxv 87-92, 128-31, 141-8, 155-8, 172-5, 197-8
 [MOSCHUS], *Megara* 98-115

87/304(a)

fr. 5 2.1 × 5.1 cm

Second century

Fourteen fragments from a roll containing two poems of dubious authorship from the *Corpus Bucolicorum*: *Idyll* xxv (fr. 1-8), doubtfully attributed to Theocritus, and *Megara* (fr. 9-12), ascribed by the manuscripts to Moschus; two more fragments bear so little text that it is not possible to place them with any confidence. Fr. 6 preserves a left-hand margin to 2 cm. The writing is along the fibres; the back carries what seems to be a commentary, written in a tiny semi-cursive hand.

Verses 92 and 198 of *Idyll* xxv are column ends. The 106 verses intervening between them could have been contained in (i) 4 columns of 26-7 verses or (ii) 3 of 35-6. Letter-height and interlinear space vary, but on the basis that in fr. 5 7 verses measure 5 cm in height, column-height could be restored as (i) c. 18.9 or (ii) c. 25.2 cm. Allowing 5 cm more for the upper and lower margins together, roll-height would measure at least (i) 23.9 or (ii) 30.2 cm. There is no secure way of choosing between (i) and (ii); literary rolls most often range from 25 to 32 cm in height, cf. W. A. Johnson, *CP* 88 (1993) 47.

The text is written in a tall mannered upright hand, to be assigned to the second half of the second century. Serifs, half-serifs and hooks are attached to the extremities of most uprights and obliques. It may be compared to, e.g., LVII 3901 (Thucydides). For this type of hand see *GMAW*² 78 introd. It is noticeable that the writing becomes less cramped as the scribe progresses further to the right: compare fr. 5 and 6, which preserve line-beginnings, with fr. 1, which comes from the middle of the column; likewise, contrast the relatively strict bilinearity (except for φ and ψ) of fr. 5 and 6 with the more relaxed attitude in fr. 1. No lectional marks are in evidence except for the diaeresis at *Meg.* 101, 109, 110. Iota adscript is written at xxv 91, the sole case where it is required (I have restored it by analogy at xxv 90, 143, 148).

This is the first papyrus of *Idyll* xxv to be published. The absence of ancient manuscript evidence for this *Idyll* was noted by Gow (I p. lxi), who, however, admits that it is at least possible that xxv was contained in the lost part of the Antinoe papyrus (II 439). But there has already been published a papyrus of *Megara*, XLVII 3325.

The fragments contribute nothing of particular textual importance: there is a gross corruption at [Th.] xxv 156, and a new but false variant at *Meg.* 100. But it is significant that fragments of [Th.] xxv and [M.] iv were found together; in the MSS the two poems

are juxtaposed ([Th.] xxv is followed by [M.] iv in CVWTr; D shows the inverse order), and it seems reasonable to assume that this is the case here also. Similar arrangements are attested by the papyri of Theocritus, cf. **4430** introd. **4431** thus provides further evidence that the medieval tradition, or at least its greatest part, reproduces the order of the constituents of the *Corpus Bucolicorum* in the second century AD.

fr. 1 + 2

xxv] ανι[οντα
] επειτ]α βο[εσ
] ερχομεν]αι φαι[νονθ]
 90] εν ουρανω[ι ειςιν ελαυνομενα προτερ]ωσσε
] Νοτ]οιο βιηι η[ε]
] με]ν τ[] ουτις α[ριθμος]
 foot

90 The blank space of more than 4 cm below the letters surviving in fr. 2 suggests that we are dealing with a column foot and/or the end of an exceptionally long line. The identification satisfies both conditions. The horizontal fibres also match.

92 τ[]: τ' D: γ' Tr: om. WM. A break in the papyrus leaves it uncertain whether an elision mark was written.

fr. 3 + 4

130] εσ]αν η[δη
] βο]υ]κολεοντ[ο
] εσ]αν η[υτε
] μετεπρ]επογ[]

fr. 5

] βο]υ]ει[ν
] οι δη[]
] αυτω[ι
] χριμψ[ασθαι]

145] του με[ν
] σκαιου []
] κλασσε[ε
] ωμ[ωι

fr. 6

155] λαοφορ[ου
] λειπον[]
] η ρα δ[ι
] ου]τι[]

156 λειπον: λεπτήν MSS. The papyrus' reading is corrupt; there seem to be two stages in the corruption: (i) graphic error: *EITT* could easily be misread as *EIII* in the majuscule; (ii) adaptation to the word-ending in *τρίβον*, which follows.

fr. 7

175] ω[ε
] ει []
] ελ[πομαι
] η[ε

fr. 8

197] νοσ]φιν γ' η ο[θεν
] Αρ]γειων ουδ[εις
 foot

fr. 9 + 10 + 11 + 12

Megara] χι]τωνος []
] τελ]ος εργου []

100 πονευμεν]ος ε[ρκος] αλωας []
 πρου]χον[τος.]ρεϊε[α]ς []
 ει]ματ[α ε]στο []
 β]αθειης []
 ειλ]ειτο φλοξ []
 105 ποc]ειν []
 Ηφαιcτ]οιο []
 γεpp]ον' [] []
] ενθα και ενθa []
 δη]ιον πυρ []
 110] ει]κτο []
 ολ]ιcθωγ []
] α[v]τ[ιc []
 αμενηνο]ς []
 ατεpp]εc []
 115 εμπεδο]ν αυτ []
 foot

100 αλωας: ἀλωῆς DS edd.: ἀλωήν WTr. The papyrus' reading is an example of the 'superficial Doricising of otherwise Ionic texts, to conform to beliefs about the genre' (R. L. Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry* (1996) 35). To judge from Gallavotti's apparatus, similar Dorisms are transmitted by WTr in verses 1, 20, 35, 87.

101]ρεϊε[α]ς: ῥεΐεας DS edd.: ῥεΐεας WTr.

104 ειλ]ειτο: so DS edd.: ειλειται WTr.

112 α[v]τ[ιc: so WTrD edd.: αῦθιc D¹S.

115 αυτ []: αῦτως S edd.: αὔτω WTrD. The trace, remains of an upper left-hand arc, does not allow judgement on which reading the papyrus had.

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 13

]ενα[

Fr. 14

]ε.[

]. [

Fr. 14

1 [] [, seried foot of upright or ascending oblique

2 [] [, top of α, λ

N. GONIS

4432. COMMENTARY ON THEOCRITUS IV 55-7, 62-3

34 4B.77/D(4-6)b
 34 4B.78/D(4-7)b

Fr. 1 7 × 12.2 cm
 Fr. 2 3 × 5 cm

Second century

On fr. 1 the full width of the column of about 5.5 cm with lines of between 23 and 27 letters is preserved, also the upper margin which was 3 cm or more high. On fr. 2 only the beginnings of the lines remain. The back of the roll was used for what appear to have been accounts, written the other way up from the text on the front. On fr. 1 there are ends of lines recording various amounts of drachmai with a note (subsequently crossed-out) under the end of the line. The right-hand half of this note appears to be preserved on fr. 2, followed by the first letters of another column which seems to have been longer than the preceding one. This and also what look like the corresponding halves of a worm-hole on the edges of the fragments suggest that, on the front, fr. 2.1 may have been on about the same level as fr. 1.4, with an intercolumnar gap of about 2 cm. Between fr. 1 and fr. 2 the comments on four verses of Theocritus, *Id.* iv 58-61, have been lost. Seeing that in fr. 1 the commentary on three verses takes up eighteen or more lines, six of them on one word, something in the region of twenty or more lines could have intervened.

There is a column number in the upper margin of fr. 1. It is fairly certainly ΠΙΜΔ = 144.¹ This seems surprisingly high considering that the commentary has got no further than what is usually the fourth poem in the manuscripts of Theocritus;² but it must be borne in mind that in the preserved fragments the commentator seems to be covering an average of only half a dozen verses per column and that he probably averaged less at the beginning of the work, where commentaries tend to be more detailed. Moreover, if he followed an order similar to that of the Antinoe codex (P³), taking the longer bucolic poems, *Idd.* i, v and vii first, then iii and possibly also vi before iv, he would have had 613 verses to comment on before reaching col. 144 and he may also have included introductory remarks both to the individual poems and to the commentary as a whole.

The text is written in a neat, fairly strictly bilinear, 'capital' hand. The letters are roughly 2-3 mm square and the interlinear space also measures 2-3 mm. Alpha is

¹ Column numbers in rolls are less frequent than page numbers in codices, but do occur: Turner, *GMAW*² p. 16 gives examples, and add LIII 3702 and 3711. Assuming that our roll started with col. 1, it must have been over 10 metres long. For comparison, LIII 3702 (with col. 122) must have been over 12 m long; the commentary on Plato's *Theaetetus*, BKT II (see now *CPF* III pp. 227 ff.), survives to a length of about 6 m with 75 columns and preserves commentary on about a sixth of the complete text. Among literary rolls from Oxyrhynchus, lengths up to c. 15 m are not exceptional (W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale 1992) 209).

² It comes fourth in all three families of MSS, although the order differs. In 2064 (P¹) it comes in third place after *Id.* i and vi, whereas in the Antinoe codex (P³) *Idd.* i, v and then probably vi or vii are followed by a gap which presumably contained, in uncertain order, iii, iv, vii or vi, viii, ix and xi. See Gow and Gutzwiller ll.cc. (above p. 158).

pointed; the left hand branch of epsilon tends to start with a little flourish above the line; the tongue of epsilon is often long and joins the next letter. The writing may be compared with the first hands of BGU XI 2020 (pl. 1; Registration of Children, AD 124), and V 841 (Pindar, *Paeans*, mid-second century) and with Schubart, *Paläographie* pl. 36 (*Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, c. AD 150) and for some letters with XLVI 3279 (Application for Epicrisis, AD 148–9). In general appearance it is similar to POxyInv 33 4B.83E (Menander, *Sicyonius*; late first/early second century, *BICS* 31 (1984) 25 and Pl. 1).

Accents and breathings are written in the lemmata (col. i 1, 4, 5; col. ii 4 and a doubtful case in ii 11). Iota adscript is written in ii 8 and probably also in the lemma in i 5 (ξρρηις), but the reading here is uncertain. There is a superfluous ν ἐφέλκυστικόν in εστω in i 14 (see also note on ii 10 f.). Δέ is elided in i 13. There seems to be no punctuation and no means of dividing the lemmata from the comments (but see app. on i 6). A trace in the left-hand margin of i 9 may be a stroke indicating omission. The correction in i 5 appears to be in the hand of the text.

The text of Theocritus used in the commentary tends to agree with P and relatives more often than with the Ambrosian recension (K): in verse 55 it had δαμάζει like P, not δαμάσσει like the other MSS; in 56 probably δχ', the reading of PQW, or δκχ', and ἀνάλιπος in agreement with members of the Laurentian and Vatican families, which have ἀνήλιπος or ἀνάλιπος, against K which has νήλιπος, the form used by Apollonius Rhodius and Lycophron. It appears, however, to have had ξρρηις (or ξρρηις) in agreement with K against P which has ξρπεις. In 57 the text had a reading otherwise preserved only as a *varia lectio* in the scholia which seems as plausible as that of the MSS: κάκτοι instead of ῥάμνοι,³ but the genitive ending of the variant in col. i 12, βαπτου, suggests that the verse, which is not quoted in the papyrus, may have had a different syntactical structure.

Of published Theocritus papyri, only one overlaps the text represented in 4432: 2064 (P¹) fr. 6 ii has the beginnings of *Id.* iv 56–63. Only one other fragment of commentary has been found: P.Berol. 7506, of the first or early second century, with notes on *Id.* v 38, 40, 44, 45 and 49 which do not show a direct relationship with the scholia. As it does not offer an explanation of the obscene verses 41–43, it may well have been written for school-children (see Wilamowitz in BKT V 56 and Gow, *Theocritus* I li). Six more papyri contain marginal notes (and more may have done so, as over half the papyri preserve little or none of the right-hand margin). L 3547 (2nd cent.), 3551 (3rd cent.), XV 1618 (P², 5th cent.) and P.Berol. 21182 (*ZPE* 4 (1969) 114–16, from Hermupolis, 6th cent.) have only the odd note (the last two have one gloss each which

³ P³ also occasionally has readings otherwise known only as variants in the scholia: two errors corrected in the papyrus at *Id.* ii 60 and xv 1 and two good readings in ii 3 and 85.

both agree with the scholia, see P² on vii 110 and schol. 109/110d and P.Berol. on vii 134 with schol. 133/4b).⁴ On P¹ and P³, however, a fair amount of annotation is preserved.

For the early history of scholarly work on Theocritus see Gow, *Theocritus* I lix–lxii and lxxx–lxxxiv, and Carl Wendel, *Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokritscholien* (Berlin 1920). The names of five or six men who wrote commentaries on him are known: Asclepiades of Myrlea and Theon (1st cent. BC), Amarantus (date uncertain, perhaps 2nd cent.), Munatius and Theaetetus (assigned either both to the 2nd cent. or to the 4th and the 5th/6th cent.) and possibly Eratosthenes, the sixth century epigrammatist, who was emended away by Wendel. The notes in P¹, which was written and annotated probably somewhat later in the second century than the new commentary, and also those in P³ (from Antinoe, 5th/6th cent.) contain several parallels to the scholia in the MSS, some of which do suggest a common source, but also a fair number of differences which show that the commentaries excerpted in the papyri were neither the only source(s) of the scholia nor incorporated into them in full. The differences between P³ and the scholia are particularly remarkable, as this papyrus was written at a date by which one would have expected the basic stock of the scholia already to have been formed. See A. S. Hunt, J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* 5 and 29. That the annotator of P¹ did use one of the commentaries from which the scholia were compiled is shown by the close agreement between the note about Daphnis at the foot of col. xix in L 3548 and the end of hypothesis b to *Id.* viii: *Κωσίθεος ἐν τῷ Λιτυέρει (TrGF 99 F 1a)?*] *Δαφνὺν α. κ[... (c. 19 letters) ὑφ' ο]ῦ νικηθῆναι* | [*Μενάλκων ἄδοντα Πανὸς καὶ*] *Νυμφῶν κρ[ινάντων. γαμηθῆναι δὲ αὐτ]ῷ νύμφην* [*Θάλειαν*]. | [(c. 18 letters) *διδα*] *χθῆναι Μαρσύ* [*αὐτὴν ἀδλητικὴν ...*].⁵ See also schol. viii 93a and Parsons on L 3548 fr. 65, where *Δωσίθεος* may be a mistake for *Κωσίθεος*. It looks, therefore, as though hyp. b and presumably also some of the other hypotheses to the *Idylls* come from the commentary used in P¹, although it cannot be ruled out that the passage just quoted was originally a note on *Δάφνιδι* in *Id.* viii 1. If Wendel is right in believing that the reference to Sositheus was copied from Apollodorus of Athens (cf. schol. *Id.* X 41cd = Sositheus *TrGF* 99 F 2a and Apollodorus, *FGrHist* 244 F 149) and that the excerpts from Apollodorus in the scholia come from Theon's commentary (see *Überl.* 65 f., 95 f., 102), then the commentary used in P¹ may be Theon's. This is also suggested by a comparison between the aetiological notes on the name Melampous in P¹ at the foot of col. xviii (see P.Oxy.

⁴ ἐν κινδαισι is glossed ἐν ἀκαλήφαισι in P². According to schol. vii 109/110d the first is koine, the second Attic. P¹ has an incompletely deciphered note on vii 110 which says that nettles cause irritation, but apparently does not mention the name ἀκαλήφη, so it looks as though the scholion comes from a commentary influenced by the atticizing studies of the second century. Compare Wendel's analysis of the botanic scholia, *Überl.* 130 ff., especially 135 f. The gloss in P. Berol. on οἰνῶρεσι, τὰ φύλλα τῆς ἀμπ[έλου], is also botanical (see Wendel, op. cit.).

⁵ [*Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Αἰτωλὸς διδα*] *χθῆναι Μαρσύ* [*αὐτὴν α. ὑπ' αὐτ(οῦ)*] or [*ἄλλοι δ' ὑπὸ Δάφνιδος διδα*] *χθῆναι*? Of course, it is not certain that the sources were named in the papyrus, but the content is certainly the same.

L p. 114) and in schol. *Id.* iii 43/45g and schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 118–21d (= Dieuchidas, *FGH Hist* 485 F 9), attributed by Wendel to Theon (*Überl.* 97 f.).⁶ This kind of evidence, however, is inevitably precarious and cannot serve as definite proof. Unfortunately, the notes in \mathfrak{P}^1 and \mathfrak{P}^3 do not overlap, so one cannot tell how far they rely on the same sources.

The similarity between the new commentary and the scholia is not very great. They agree on the meaning of *ἀνάλιπος* in verse 56 (*ἀνυπόδητος*), but not on its derivation. They agree that the plants mentioned in 57 are *ἀκανθῶν εἶδη*, but there is no trace in the scholia of the papyrus' long note on *ἀσπάλαθος*; schol. b has a shortened version of the etymological derivation given by Amarantus, who can be ruled out as the author of this commentary. The copy of the text followed in schol. 57a had *ράμνοι* (or *θάμνοι*) in the text with a variant *κάκτοι*; that used in the papyrus commentary had *κάκτοι* in the text for which an enigmatic variant is given.

The date and the provenance of the commentary would make Theon a likely author, as a copy of his commentary on Pindar's *Pythians* has been found at Oxyrhynchus (XXXI 2536), and his name appears in the commentary to Alcman (XXIV 2390), and in the marginal notes of several other papyri from Oxyrhynchus (XXXVII 2803; XXV 2427; V 841; VII 1174). His commentary on Theocritus definitely included *Id.* iv as schol. 50/51c comes from it (see Wendel's app. crit. and Claus Guhl, *Die Fragmente des Alexandrinischen Grammatikers Theon* (Diss. Hamburg, 1969) 27); but there is no sign in the papyrus of two notes in the scholia which almost certainly come from the commentary used by the fifth-century Alexandrian scholar Horion, that is Theon's (see Wendel, *Überl.* 44): schol. 62/63a *φιλοῖφα*: *οὕτω καὶ παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι κόρυφος λέγεται ὁ ὡς κόρη οὐφώμενος* (as in 3298 2) and schol. 62/63c *Σατυρικός*: *... λέγεται δὲ παρὰ τὸ κάθη*. It is unfortunate that the note on the plural *Πάνεσσι* in 63 (col. ii 12) has not been preserved, as schol. de belong to a group of scholia about Pan which Wendel (*Überl.* 91) believed to derive from Apollodorus through Theon's commentary (\mathfrak{P}^1 is equally frustrating: it has the beginning of a note above verse 63, *παρατετήρηται* ὅτ[ι, and then breaks off).

With Theon apparently ruled out as well, there is one remaining known candidate, Asclepiades,⁷ to whom Wendel (*Überl.* 80) does in fact ascribe the variant *κάκτοι* in iv 57, but only because Asclepiades is the source of two other variants, *ὀμομαλίδες* in *Id.* v 94, an attractive alternative to *ὀρομαλίδες*, and *δύβριδος* for *Θύβριδος* or *Θύμβριδος* in i 118 (see Gow ad loc.), so the ascription to him is by no means certain.

⁶ See also Ingrid Löfller, *Die Melampodie* (Meisenheim 1963) 31. The phrasing in the papyrus, (3) *ὑπὸ τῆς βολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου μελ[ανθῆναι]* and (4) *ἔ]πὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας* is reminiscent of schol. Ap. *φηεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος* and *συνέβη δὲ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μελανθῆναι*.

⁷ On Asclepiades see A. Adler, *Herm.* 49 (1914) 39–46.

The text has been collated with the editions of A. S. F. Gow (Cambridge 21952) and C. Gallavotti (Rome 1946, 31993) and of H. L. Ahrens, *Bucolicorum graecorum Theocriti Bionis Moschi Reliquiae* I (Leipzig 1855), the scholia with Ahrens II (1859) and C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum vetera* (Teubner 1914 (1967)).

col. i (= fr. 1)

ρμδ

[]

]ονάνδραδαμαζει

]...[.] μικρονες[.]ιν

]λ[.]κονανδρα..

.....]ε[.]ει...υ.ων.ισό

χ[]

5

...]ό[κ]ξρ...μηανάλιπος..

...]οβ[.]...μηαν[.]πόδητοςφη

...]νπαραγε.ουεκτεθλιπταιδε

τ[.]ὑεκτηςλεξεω[.]...]που.

10

]...[]εισιγαρεντ[.....]εσικακτοικαι

ασπαλαθ[.....]...]ωνε[.]δηιρη

ταιδεκακτος[.....]ουσα[.]...]

ξειγραφεταικαιβαττου[.....]

κ[.....]νουηδασπαλα[.....]

...]παλασσεινοεστινκατ[.....]

15

...]...[]αισπαλανθρον...]

...]...[]κινου[.....]

...]σανσκαλα...[]

...]σκαλιδοςκαιγα[]

.....]νετα[]

col. ii (= fr. 2)

]ώνθρω [

[]ησατυρικ[

[]ικακοκ[

[...]θαυμα[

[]τηηλικ[

χε.τουφη[

νοσσουη[

] οικε.φ[

...]υσπαν[

ρμδ

[]

τύμμα καὶ ἀλίκ]ον ἄνδρα δαμάζει·

]...[.] μικρόν ζε[τ]ιν

ἢ]λ[ί]κον ἄνδρα κ.

.....]ε[.]ει...υ.ων. Εἰς ὄ-

ρο]ς ὁ[κ]χ' ἔρρηις, μῆ ἀνάλιπος ἔρ-

χε]ο, Β[ά]τ[τ]ε. μῆ ἀν[υ]πόδητος, φη-

σί]ν, παραγενοῦ. ἐκτεθλιπται δὲ

τ[ὸ] ὑ ἐκ τῆς λέξεω[ς] ἀ[ναλί]πους.

] / [] εἰςὶ γὰρ ἐν τ[οῖς] ὄρ]εσι κάκτοι καὶ

ἀσπάλαθ[οι, ἀ]κ[αν]θῶν ε[ἶ]δη. εἴρη-

ται δὲ κάκτος [.....]ουσα[.]...]

ξει γράφεται καὶ βαττου[.....]

κ[.....]...[]νον. ἢ δ' ἀσπάλα[θος] παρὰ

τὸ] σπαλάσσειν, ὅ ἐστιν κατ[α-...]

...[] κ]αὶ σπάλαυθρον ἀπ[.....]

...[]...[]κινου[.....]

...]ασαν σκαλαυθρ[

...]σκαλίδος καὶ γα[

.....]αύεται[]

col. ii (= fr. 2)

εὖ γ',]

]ώνθρωπ[ε φιλοῖφα. τό τοι γένος

]ῆ] Σατυρίσκ[οις ἐγγύθεν ἢ Πάνες-

ς]ε κακοκ[γάμοισιν ἐρίζει]· ...

...[]...[]θαυμα[

]τῆι ἡλικ[ίαι

χε.του φη[.....]τὸ γέ-

transmitted (2256 fr. 59.21 = Aesch. fr. dub. 451p Radt, where the scribe specifies νη- not ἀνη-; Soph. OC 349; cf. *Sud.* ν 314; Max. Tyr. 24.6, p. 206 Trapp; Phot. s. νηλίποδες), although metrically νηλίπος would be possible there too. Νηλίπος is treated as a contracted form of νηλίπους in EM 603.33 which appears to be quoting Lyc. 635 + comm. ad loc., τὸ δὲ νηλίποι ἀνυπόδητοι, συνήρηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νηλίποδος, cf. Eust. on Il. K 31, 787, 52 ff. ... καὶ νηλίπος, οὐ ἐντελής δὲ νηλίπους. Eustathius, however, goes on to ask himself why νηλίπος does not keep the paroxytone accent like Οἰδίπος and ἀελλόπος if it is a compound of ποῦς (cf. Hdn. fr. 216, II p. 247 Lentz) and concludes that it must be equivalent to ἀλιπής instead. A similar idea lies behind the derivation of ἀνηλίπος from ἀνάλιφος from ἀλείφειν in EM 107.15. There seems to be no connection between the papyrus and schol. *Id.* iv 56ab in which ἀνηλίπος is derived from *ἤλιψ said to be a kind of shoe, and ἐλίσσειν with reference to the explanation of πέδιλον given in schol. AD Il. 2.44, Ap. S. 129.9 and schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.168b.

For the use of ἐκθλίβειν and ἐκθλίμειν as grammatical terms see also schol. Theocr. *Id.* i 3/4a and 82/85b; schol. Ap. Rhod. i 643/48 f.; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ii 52a; schol. Ven. Ar. *Ran.* 103, H. Erbse, *Scholía Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* VI, Index III p. 326, and for similar terms schol. A Il. 8.409 ἀελλόπος κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ὄ, ἀελλόπος and W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation* (London 1905) 167.

9-18 Paraphrase of verse 57 ἐν γὰρ ὄρει ῥάμνοι τε καὶ ἀσπάλαθοι κομῶντι followed by at least nine lines of commentary on it. Unfortunately the verse itself is not quoted, but a speck in the margin before εἰς might be the remains of a dash indicating that the lemma had been omitted.

κάκτοι: the MSS have ῥάμνοι in the text, but the reading κάκτοι is recorded in schol. 57a, γράφεται καὶ κάκτοι, and the first part of schol. b, ἀσπάλαθοι· εἶδος ἀκάνθης ἢ πληγέντες οἱ ἔλαφοι ἀποθνήσκουσιν, could be based on an imprecise recollection of Philittas, fr. 16 Powell and really refer to κάκτοι, not ἀσπάλαθοι. The MSS of the Vatican family also have the reading ῥάμνοι in schol. 57a (see Wendel, app. crit. to p. 151, 3 and 5; Ahrens II 175), but this may have originated as a gloss. The κάκτος has been identified with the cardoon, *cyrtus cardunculus*, see PW II 2. 1455 s. 'Artischocke', Kurt Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (Heidelberg 1970) 79; so it is a plant more similar to the ἀτρακτυλῖς (verse 52) or *carthamus lanatus* (Oleg Polunin, *The Concise Flowers of Euripide* (OUP 1972) plate 157) and more easily stepped on inadvertently than ῥάμνος, buckthorn (Polunin, plate 71), cf. *Id.* X 4 ὥσπερ δις ποίμνας, ἄς τὸν πόδα κάκτος ἔτυψε. According to Theophrastus (*H.P.* 6, 4, 10) it was to be found in his time only in Sicily (περὶ Συκελίαν), not in Greece, so in the ears of an East Mediterranean audience the word κάκτος in *Id.* iv might have served to enhance the Italianate atmosphere of the poem, which is set near Croton. (Cf. however Alice Lindsell, *G&R* 6 (1937) 85, who points out that, if κάκτος in *Id.* X 4 is a literary allusion to Philittas fr. 16, it should not be used to prove that *Id.* X is set in Sicily.) On the other hand Arist. *Probl.* 906b 11 shows that ῥάμνος and ἀσπάλαθος (a kind of spiny broom, *calycotome villosa*?, see Polunin plate 51, PW s. Ἀσπάλαθος and R. M. Dawkins, *JHS* 56 (1936) 7) often grew together (καὶ μάλιστα οὐδ' ἀν' ἀσπάλαθος ἢ καὶ ῥάμνος).

10 ἀ]κ[αν]θῶν ἐ[ῖ]δη: cf. schol. *Id.* iv 57b, schol. Theocr. ap. *Et. Gud.* 214. 20 and *Et. Gen.* = EM 156.30 εἶδος ἀκάνθη.

10-12 εἴρηται ... -ξεῖ: an explanation of the name κάκτος? Schol. *Id.* X 4 says it is εἶδος φυτοῦ ἀκανθώδους ἀπὸ τοῦ κα(τα)κάνω, τὸ λυπῶ, but κατακάνειν cannot be fitted in here. Perhaps something like εἴρηται δὲ κάκτος [ἢ κα]κοῦσα τ[ῆ] νύ]ξει or ἀ[μύ]ξει was written.

12 γράφεται καὶ βαττου]: 'there is a variant βαττου] ...'. This is strange: the vocative Βάττε occurs at the end of verse 56, but the genitive could not be made to construe there; moreover, here, between comments on κάκτος and on ἀσπάλαθος, the variant referred to must be in verse 57 and presumably intended to replace the word κάκτος. In this case it looks remarkably as though this scholar, although he uses the nominative plural in his paraphrase, knew a version of verse 57 in which both plant names were in either the accusative plural or the genitive singular (perhaps something like ἐν γὰρ ὄρει κάκτου τε καὶ ἀσπάλαθου κόμαι ἐντί, instead of κομῶντι, which would be very close to the reading of cod. Par. Reg. 2512 κομῶντι (see Ahrens) and Q'EM 156. 31 κομῶνται, cf. schol. *Id.* iv 57a ... κόμαι γὰρ ῥάμνον καὶ ἀσπάλαθον αἱ ἄκανθαι and the Homeric κόμη τανυφύλλου ἐλαίης, *Od.* 23.195). Even then βαττου cannot be right. There is a thorny plant, βάτος ('bramble') mentioned by Theocritus elsewhere (*Idd.* i 132; vii 140; xxiv 90), but its alpha is short and yet another hypothetical change in the verse seems highly undesirable (ἐν γὰρ ὄρεσσι βάτου ... would scan, but Theocritus does not use the form ὄρεσσι). An alternative interpretation, 'this verse is given to Battos', appears even more unpromising.

13 If the word ending in -ου is a further variant, κ[αὶ βά]μνου (or κ[αὶ θά]μνου, cf. the v. l. in schol. 57a quoted above) would fit and the gap after βαττου may then be filled with e.g. [ῆ] βάτου] or [οὐκ εὔ].

13-18 contain a long note on the etymology of ἀσπάλαθος which the author apparently regards as connected with a family of words in (ἀ)σπαλ- and/or σκαλ- which may be derived from a root with the basic meaning, 'to tear or cleave'. In this he anticipates the theories of more recent etymologists such as Persson, Solmsen and Walde (see Frisk, *Etymol. Wörterbuch* under Ἀσπάλαθος and Ἀσφάλαιξ).

13-15 ἢ δὲ (rather than ἢδὲ) ἀσπάλα[θος], then παρὰ | τὸ] σπαλάσσειν, rather than ἀπὸ | το]ῦ παλάσσειν. Σπαλάσσειν does not otherwise occur, but κ]αὶ σπάλαυθρον in line 15 suggests a verb beginning with σπ- in line 14: cf. Hesych. (M. Schmidt, ed. min. (Jena 1867) σ 1400) σπαλύσσειται· σπαρῶσσειται and (σ 2843) σφαλάσσειν· τέμνειν, κεντεῖν. The papyrus may have continued accordingly with ὃ ἐστὶν κατ[ατέμνει]ε[ῖ]ν, κατ[ακεν]τε[ῖ]ε[ῖ]ν, or e.g. κατ[αμύ]σειε[ῖ]ν or some other verb of similar meaning.

15 κ]αὶ σπάλαυθρον: cf. Hesych. (Schmidt, ed. min. σ 1399) σπάλαυθρον (σπαύλαυθρον MS)· σκάλαυθρον = Phot. 529. 10 Porson (= 169.21 Naber) and Poll. 7.22 (in a list of baker's implements) καὶ σπάλαυθρον (σπάλαυθρον the archetype of F and S, C) δ' ἐργαλεῖον δὲ οἱ νῦν σκάλευθρον, cf. 10. 113 σπάλαυθρον. This instrument was apparently an oven-rake. The alternative form, σκάλαυθρον, is given in the papyrus in line 17.

απ[: ἀπ]δ[ι]?

16]τ[ι] κ]αὶ κ]ύρου,]πικνουδ?

17 E.g. ... ἐφ]ασαν σκάλαυθρον, ὃ ἐστὶν εἶδος] σκαλίδος? On the σκαλῖς, which was used for digging, cf. schol. *Id.* X14e τὸ δὲ ἄσκαλα ἀπὸ τοῦ σκαλῖς· σκαλῖς δὲ ἐστὶ γεωργικὸν ἐργαλεῖον.

Here, as on verse 56, the etymological explanation given in the papyrus differs from that of the scholia and from those of Amarantus and Eraphroditus preserved in the *Etymologia*, see schol. 57b (from Amarantus?) ἀσπάλαθος δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τῶν πληγέντων <ἀποσπᾶσθαι ἦτοι> ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (cf. Ahrens, II 175, Wendel, *Überl.* 43) and *Et. Gud.* 214.20 (*Et. Gen.* = EM 156.30) ἀσπάλαθος· εἶδος ἀκάνθη· εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ σπῶ, σπάλαθος καὶ ἀσπάλαθος. οὕτως Ἀμαράντος εἰς τὸν Θεόκριτον. Ἐπαφρόδιτος δὲ (fr. 7 Luenzer, from his *Λέξεις*?) παρὰ τὸ σπαλιεῖν ἐτυμολογεῖ, ὃ ἐστὶν ξύειν, ἢ ἢ σπάλαθος καὶ ἀσπάλαθος (cf. *Et. Gud.* 214. 8 and 23 f., EM 156. 36 and 39, Hesych. α 7749, *Sud.* α 4199).

19 If line 18 continued with καὶ γὰ]ρ, the explanation of ἀσπάλαθος may even have run on into line 19. Otherwise one might try a short lemma from verse 58 with a comment, e.g. μύλλει· οὐ π]αύεται [συνουσιάζων.

col. ii

3-6 Lemma: *Id.* iv 62-63, the last two verses of the poem: εὔ γ' ὠν[θρα]πε ϖ¹.

6 ἐρίσδει the MSS. except K¹ (ἐρίσδεις). In the lemma in i 1 the papyrus had δαμάζει with ζ.

7 θαῦμα [or θαυμά]ζει(ν): Battus marvels at the old man's virility.

8 τῆ ἡλικ[ία] must refer to Aegon's father, the old man Battus is talking about.

9 -χεῖ, -χεῖτο? Or perhaps πολυ]χεύτου, 'very salacious', said in *Sud.* η 201 s. ἡλέκτωρ of the cock, cf. EM 425. 40 (-όχητ-). With this supplement the whole passage may have run something like this: (6) ὁ Βάτ]τος θαυμά]ζειν αὐτοῦ ὄντος ἐν] τῆ ἡλικ[ία] ταύτῃ ἐτι πολυ]χεύτου φη]εῖν, or, assuming that the first sentence ended with ἡλικ[ία], ... Ἐπι γὰρ (or δὲ) τοῦ πολυ]χεύτου φη]εῖν τὸ 'φιλοῖφα'.

10f. Paraphrase of τό τοι γένος ff.? σὸυ suggests that the author understood τοι as the dative σοί rather than as the affirmative particle: τὸ γέ]νος σὸυ ἢ [κατ]ούρις ἐγγύς ἢ Πά]σσω] ξοικέρ φ]ησιν ... If, however, the stroke above the epsilon after kappa is in fact an accent, then line 11 is likely to contain a quotation (perhaps with κέ]φος, 'gullible fool'; there seems however to be more admiration than mockery in Battus' words).

12 το]ῦς Πά]σσω] α: e.g. πλείους φη]εῖν? Cf. schol. iv 62/63de.

M. MAEHLER

IV. DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

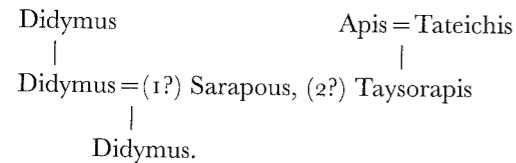
4433. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT OF BEQUEST

A 4.B5/5 (C322)

7.5 × 13.5 cm

22 September 130?

Most of the persons concerned in this document can best be presented in a genealogical table:



In the text the youngest Didymus acknowledged to Taysorapis, described as the 'former wife' of his deceased father, that he had received all the goods, utensils, and household furniture left by his father. Since Taysorapis seems to have had the responsibility for the goods, it seems likely that 'former wife' means 'widow' and that she was the second, or last, wife of his father, and that his own mother, Sarapous, had died or been divorced at an earlier stage.

Omitted from the table is Horus, who was the guardian of Taysorapis for this legal transaction and is described only as her kinsman (*συγγενής*). He had no official father and was officially registered as the son of his mother Tanesneus.

The occasion for the delivery of the goods to the deceased's son is not explained. The right to continued use of goods of this type is frequently bequeathed to spouses by will, see H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* 177 § 3 c. Sometimes this use is specifically for life, but sometimes it is conditional on continued care for the children and the estate, and in a few cases it is revoked on the remarriage of a widow, see CPR VI 1.8-10, SB VIII 9642(4).8-11, P. Diog. 9.10-14. Perhaps it is a permissible guess that the occasion for the delivery of the goods in this case may have been the prospect of the remarriage of Taysorapis.

The body of the document is well preserved, but the papyrus is broken at the foot at a point which leaves it uncertain whether the subscription is complete or not. The writing runs along the fibres, but no sheet-join survives to prove that the written side is the recto of the original roll. The back is blank.

*Δίδυμος Διδύμου τοῦ Διδύμου
μητρὸς Σαραποῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων
πόλεως τῆ γενομένη τοῦ μετῆλλα-
χότος μου πατρὸς Διδύμου γυναι-*

5 κὶ Ταῦσοράπει Ἄπειτος μητρὸς
Τατείχιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς Ὁρου χρη-
ματίζοντος μητρὸς Τανεςνέως
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεω[ς] χαίρειν. ὁ-
10 μολογῶ παρειληφέναι τὰ ἀπολειφθέν-
τα ὑπὸ τοῦ σημαινομένου καὶ με-
τηλλαχότος ἐμοῦ μὲν πατρός, σοῦ δὲ
ἀνδρός, Διδύμου ἔπιπλα καὶ σκεύη
καὶ ἐνδομενεῖαν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα
15 καὶ μηδὲν σοὶ ἐγκαλεῖν μηδὲ
ἐγκαλέσει[ν] μηδὲ ἐπελεύεσθαι
μητέ περὶ τούτων <μηδὲ> περὶ ἄλλου μηδε-
νὸς ἀπλῶς γραπτοῦ ἢ <ἀ>γράφου πρά-
γματος τὸ σύνολον τῶν ἐκ τῶν
20 ἐπάνω χρόνων μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶ-
σης ἡμέρας παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ.
κυρία ἢ χεῖρ. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Θωθ κῆ. (m.2) Δίδυμος Διδύ-
25 μου παρείληφα
τὰ ἀπολιφθέντα.

7 l. συγγενοῦς 11 ὑπο 14 l. ἐνδομενίαν 15 l. ἐγκαλεῖν 16 l. ἐγκαλέσειν
22 L 23 τραϊανου 26 l. ἀπολειφθέντα

'Didymus son of Didymus grandson of Didymus, mother Sarapous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, to the former wife of my deceased father Didymus, Taysorapis daughter of Apis, mother Tateichis, from the same city, with as guardian her kinsman Horus, officially described as the son of his mother Tanesneus, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received the goods and utensils and household furniture and all the other things that were left by the above-mentioned and deceased Didymus, my father and your husband, and that I have no claim against you nor will I bring claims in future nor take proceedings either about these things or about any other matter whatsoever written or unwritten at all from former times until the present day under any pretext. The chirograph is binding. Year 15(?) of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Thoth 25. (2nd hand) I, Didymus son of Didymus, have received the goods left (by my father).'

2-3 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. On the forms of the name of the city of Oxyrhynchus see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-292.

3-5 τῆ γενομένη τοῦ μετῆλλαχότος μου πατρὸς Διδύμου γυναικί. See introd. para. 2.

5 Ἄπειτος. For this genitive of the name Ἄπειος/Ἄπειος see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 57.

7 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς (l. συγγενοῦς) κτλ. On the guardianship of women see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 175, id. *Opera Minora* ii 353–377 (= *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 2 (1938) 293–314).

7–8 Ὁρου χρηματίζοντος μητρὸς Ταυενέως. On the large category of persons with no officially acknowledged father see H. C. Youtie, *ΑΠΑΤΟΡΕΣ*: 'Law vs. Custom in Roman Egypt', *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, 358–369.

18 γραπτοῦ ἢ <ᾶ>γράφου. The usual formula is ἐγγράπτου ἢ ἀγράφου; for γραπτοῦ cf. XXXI 2583 18, XLI 2975 14–15, P. Harr. I 141.5, all from Oxyrhynchus. It is possible that this was the standard Oxyrhynchite formula: XXVII 2471 22 has [ἐν]γράφου ἢ ἀγράφου and a photograph of this item, now in the British Library, shows certainly enough space to impose the word and probably enough ink to justify reading ἐγγράπτου, but the persons involved in the contract, an Alexandrian *synchoreisis*, are Roman and Alexandrian citizens without any certain connection with Oxyrhynchus.

ἢ <ᾶ>γράφου. Aphaeresis of initial vowels, including alpha, is well attested in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 320–1.

22 κυρία ἢ χεῖρ. See H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 145, 'Er (the formula) besagt, dass der Inhalt der Urkunde das Verhältnis der Parteien bestimme'; he translates the term into German as 'massgeblich'. Cf. M. Hässler, *Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden* (1960).

(ἔτους) ιε. The figure for the year is damaged: iota is clear, then there is a small hole, from which emerges only a short stroke curving downwards towards the initial alpha of Ἀυτοκράτορος. In view of the smallness of the hole it seems that epsilon, = 5, is the best possibility. Gamma, stigma and theta, 3, 6 and 9, are excluded, alpha, beta, delta and zeta, 1, 2, 4 and 7, could only have been accommodated if they were unexpectedly tiny, but some degree of uncertainty remains.

24–26 The subscription is written in laboured capitals, but is correctly spelled except for one venial iotacism in ἀπολ(ε)ιφθέντα (26). The form of the two examples of tau makes a strange impression: it begins with a hook formed by a stroke first rising steeply and then arching over to descend into the upright; a crossbar is perched on top of the arch. This clearly derives from the form familiar in the Ptolemaic and early Roman period in which the first half of the crossbar is written first and descends into the upright before the second half of the crossbar, or a complete new crossbar as here, is added in a second stage.

The style of the writing belongs to the category studied by H. C. Youtie, 'βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *Scriptiunculae* ii 629–651 = *GRBS* 12 (1979) 239–261. This tends to suggest that the subscription is autograph, but the papyrus breaks off so close to line 26 that it is not even certain that the subscription is complete, and it is certainly possible that the subscription of an amanuensis could have followed. The preserved height of c. 13.5 cm is only about half what one might expect from a piece of papyrus cut from an average roll.

U. WARTENBERG

4434. RECEIPT FOR MILITARY CLOTHING

47 5B.42/B(1–4)B

7.5 × 9 cm

15 August 154?

This receipt was issued to the *κακκοποιοί* of Oxyrhynchus by Claudius Germanus, an *optio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica*. It links the garments called *κυρίαί* with *κακκοποιοί* for the first time and so suggests that *κάκκον* (or *κάκος* or *κάκκος* or *κακάς* or *κακής*) might be a generic term for a woollen garment made by a particular process, and *κυρία* such a garment in a particular design, see 3 n. In addition it illustrates an aspect of the supply of clothing to the Roman army. A brief review of the little that is known of this process before the fourth century is given by J. A. Sheridan, *Roman Military Clothing Requisitions in Egypt* (Diss. Columbia, 1990) 95–107. The documents are few, but BGU VII 1564 (AD 138) and P. Lips. 57 (AD 261; for gladiators) also mention *κυρίαί* in this context.

The text is written across the fibres; the back is blank and has a rather coarse surface which looks more like the *verso* of the roll. One might therefore speculate whether the text was written on the *recto* of a piece which had been turned through ninety degrees. There can be no certainty, since no sheet-join is clearly visible, but along the top edge of the piece there is a short stretch where the written surface appears to overlap a new set of fibres; if so, the upper part of the original roll would have been to the left of this text and the piece has indeed been rotated. The piece of papyrus was cut to its present shape before the text was written, since the crowding of the last line clearly shows that the writer was aware of the proximity of the bottom edge.

The informal script does not look like the work of a professional scribe; in fact, it seems conceivable that the *optio* himself wrote the text. At least this is not unlikely, since literacy was a necessary qualification for the similar rank of *signifer*, see P. Freib. IV 66 introd. n. 4 (p. 60), with references; cf. R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* 76 ii 8, xix 9, 78(31).5 for subscriptions of *optiones*, and John Lydus, *De Magistr.* Bk. i, ch. 46 (ed. A. C. Bandy, p. 70, l. 12) *ὀπτίωνες, αἰρετοὶ ἢ γραμματεῖς*. Certain features of the script and the orthography of the text lead to the speculation that the writer was more familiar with Latin than with Greek, at least as regards writing. The epsilons and etas are often very like Latin e and h. The spelling of *μετροπόλεως* and, most strikingly, *Ὀχυρυχείτου*, could both conceivably be explained as having been written by a person who spoke and wrote Latin. The former is a phonological mistake, epsilon for eta, whereas the latter is a wrong spelling based on a confusion of chi and Latin X.

Κλαύδιος Γερμανὸς

ὀπτίων λεγιώνος

γ⁻ Κυρηναϊκῆς κακ-

κοποῦς μετροπό-

5 λεως Ὀχυρυχείτου

διὰ Θέωνος Ὀφελί-

ωνος. παρέλαβον τὰς

κυρίας μεγάλας πεν-

τήκοντα πέντε ἄς ἐξέ-

10 δωκα ἕμειν ὄν καὶ τὴν

τειμὴν ἕμειν ἐκ πλή-

ρους ἀπέδωκα. ἔτους

ιζ⁻ Ἀυτοκράτορος Ἄντω-

νίνου τοῦ κυρίου, Μῆσορρῆ κβ⁻.

3–4 l. κακκοποιοῦς 4–5 l. μητροπόλεως
10 l. ἕμειν 11 l. τειμὴν, ἕμειν

5 οχυρυχείτου: 2nd chi corr. ex incerto: l. Ὀξυρυχίτου

'Claudius Germanus, *optio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, to the *cassopoei* of the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, by agency of Theon son of Ophelion. I took delivery of the fifty-five large Syrian garments which I commissioned from you, the price of which I also delivered to you. Year 17 of the Emperor Antoninus the lord, Mesore 22.'

¹ The name Claudius Germanus is not uncommon: for examples from Egypt, see P. Erl. 38.6, SB VI 9118.1, P. Hib. II 276 (=P. Cugusi, *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum* No. 177).¹, 6, Abdullatif Ahmed Aly, *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University* 3 (1955) 116: b ii 53. For various remarks on these items and persons see J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers* (MAVORS II) 370-1 (= *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (1975) 773-4), M. P. Speidel, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 164, E. Birley, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 120, 122. There is no indication that the man here is to be identified with any of the others.

² *ὀπίων*. *Optiones* appear with many additional titles and in many different contexts, cf. B. Dobson, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* 316-7, D. J. Breeze, *Britannia* 7 (1976) 127-133, esp. p. 127 n. 3 = D. J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Roman Officers and Frontiers* (MAVORS X) 71 n. 3, R. Marichal, *Les Ostraka de Bu Njem* 68-9 and n. 9, with a reference to D. Van Berchem, *L'Année militaire* 136-7, for their concern with the commissariat of the army. Most relevant in this connection may be PSI IV 465 (c. 265), where three inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus acknowledge to an *optio* of the *legio II Traiana* that they still owe, in respect of years 10, 11 and 12 of Gallienus, a consignment of skins for the manufacture of armaments 'on behalf of the metropolis', and XIX 2230 (c. 119-124), where an *optio* is concerned with the provision of blankets.

²⁻³ *λεγιῶνος γ' Κυρηναϊκῆς*. This legion, part of the first garrison of Egypt, had its headquarters at Bostra in Arabia by 126, see CIL VIII 2532, 1804, with D. Kennedy, *HSCP* 84 (1980) 303-4, 305-6, well before the earliest possible date for this papyrus, see 12-14 n. Either there was a detachment of it in Egypt somewhat later in the second century or these goods were to be exported, cf. P. Ryl. II 189 and BGU VII 1564.5 for clothes destined for army units in Judaea (AD 128) and Cappadocia (AD 138), see J. A. Sheridan, *Roman Military Clothing* 101-2, 103-4.

³⁻⁴ *κασσοπιῶς* (l. *κασσοπιῶς* or *κασσοπιῶς*). For the routine phonetic interchange of upsilon and omicron/iota see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 197-8. It is impossible to choose between single sigma and double, cf. Gignac op. cit. i 154-165, esp. 158-160.

Cf. Hesychius (ed. Latte, vol. ii p. 420, no. 85) *κάσσαν ἱμάτιον, παχὺ καὶ τραχὺ περιβόλαιον* 'a thick and rough wrap-around cloak'; Herodian (ed. A. Lentz, vol. i p. 208 l.18) *τὸ δὲ κάσσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κάσος γίνεταί κατὰ πλεονακμὸν τοῦ σ'· ἔστι δὲ εἶδος ἱματίου οὗτω καλουμένου; LSJ s.v. κασῆς, P. Chantraine, *Dict. Etym.* ii 502, s.v. *κακάς*.*

The raw material for the rough and heavy garments made by these workers was dead wool stripped from sheep hides, according to the reconstruction and interpretation of P. Petr. II 31(1) by U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* i 225 n. 1, cf. BL I 368. E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie Textile* 117 deduced that they spun their own yarn as well as weaving the garment. Since what they supply here was *κυρίαί*, we may perhaps conclude that the words in *κασ-* denoted this class of wares and that the *κυρίαί* was a particular variety.

⁴⁻⁵ *μετροπόλειως* (l. *μητροπόλειως*). Confusion of epsilon and eta is fairly well attested, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 242, but here may be the result of Latin influence, see next note.

⁵ *Ὀχυρρυχίτου* (l. *Ὀξυρρυχίτου*). The iotacism is routine, but the use of chi for xi has nothing to do with phonetics and must be caused by the writer's familiarity with the use of the Latin X to denote the ks sound.

⁸ *κυρίαί*. Cf. Hesychius (ed. M. Schmidt 1419) *κυρία· ἡ παχέα χλαίνα· ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς σιούρης· ἢ ὅτι ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ γίνεταί· οὗτοι δὲ Σύροι; Pollux, *Onom.* VII 61 ἦν δὲ *κυρίαί* οἱ πολλοί, *ταύτην ἀτόποκον ἱμάτιον οἱ κομικοί* (cf. Hesychius (ed. Latte i 286 no. 55) *ἀτόποκιστον· μὴ κεκαρμένον· οἱ δὲ εὐτελὲς ἱμάτιον*); VII 69 *κυρίαί* δὲ ἱμάτιον *Κρατῖνος κτλ.*; X 64 *κυρίαί* καὶ *κύρα* (*κύρα*?) ἢ *ἀκναπτος*. This thick cloak was evidently produced by the craftsmen called *κασσοπιῶί*, see 3-4 n.*

P. Lips. 57.29 (AD 261) lists *κυρίαί* among goods delivered to the gladiatorial school in Alexandria. More enlightening is BGU VII 1564.5-6 (AD 138) *κυρίαί* λευκῶν τεσσάρων μήκ(ου)ς ἐκάστης πῆχ(εων) 5 πλάτους πῆχ(εων) 8 ὀκ(ή)ς μῶ(ν) γ (ἡμι) (τέταρτον). These four *γυγίαι* were among goods ordered by the prefect of Egypt to be sent to army units in Cappadocia. They were white, but it seems that that needed to be specified. Each of them was six cubits by four, nine feet by six, or 2.77 metres by 1.85. According to the printed text each weighed about 1.64 kilos, but this is suspiciously little, no more than the tunic of smaller dimensions mentioned immediately before, although the *κυρίαί* is supposed to be thick; the sublinear dots may

indicate that the weight unit was different, or more likely that iota, the digit for ten, is missing; 13.75 minas would be about six kilos.

⁹⁻¹⁰ *ἀς ἐξέδωκα ὑμῖν*. On *ἐκδιδόναι* meaning 'put out to contract' see LIX 3989 6-7 n., citing in relation to *δημόσιος ἱματισμός* P. Phil. 10.17-21 (dupl. BGU VIII 1572.13-16).

¹²⁻¹⁴ If this is correctly read and interpreted as 22 Mesore of year 17 of Antoninus Pius, the equivalent is 15 August 154.

¹³⁻¹⁴ The regnal formula is anomalous and has no direct parallels. Since Antoninus was the principal name of Marcus, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, as well as Pius, there may be some possibility of confusion. However, Elagabalus had too short a reign to be a candidate here, and Commodus and Caracalla were junior colleagues of their fathers in their seventeenth years, so that only Marcus could afford a realistic alternative. In that case the date would be 15 August 177. In view of the Latin influence on this text it seems useful to compare the Latin formula in BGU VII 1692.14-15 *item anno VIII Imp(eratoris) Antonini{ni} domini n(ostr)is idem co(n)s(ulibus)*. The consular and regnal date given in lines 1-4 relates to the reign of Pius, AD 144. Probably our writer was modelling his text on a Latin original similar to the one in BGU 1692.14-15.

¹⁴ *Μεσορῆ κβ*. The damage is compounded by the efforts of the writer to crowd the line in between 13 and the lower edge, but this seems to be a satisfactory interpretation.

U. WARTENBERG

4435. RULINGS ON THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF MINORS

37 3B.87/H(4)A

21 × 16 cm

Early third century

This new piece gives the top of the column of which the foot was published as VII 1020 and like it contains legal pronouncements relating especially to minors. Parts of three sections survive, headed 'chapter from the *gnomon* of Severus and Caracalla the lords Augusti', 'from requests (*αἰτημάτων*) of Alexandrians', and 'chapter from the *lex Laetoria*'. The *gnomon* of Severus and Caracalla is not mentioned elsewhere and remains mysterious. Although we cannot fail to be reminded of the so-called Apokrimata (SB VI 9526 = P. Col. VI), a collection of 'responses' given by Severus and posted in public in Alexandria over the period 14-16 March 200, especially since this pronouncement is dated 20 March 200, the partial quotation here seems more discursive and comprehensive than those terse and specific rulings and it is not easy to guess from what type of text it originated. The term 'requests of Alexandrians' is unfamiliar too, though they obviously formed another section of the legal business of Severus on his visit to Egypt. The *lex Laetoria* was a law perhaps of the second century BC affording a remedy to minors defrauded of their lands by guardians, see A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* 157-8; its text is not preserved and the loss here of an extract from a Greek translation of it is much to be deplored.

The text of 1020 is given again for the convenience of the user. There is no join between the pieces; not much can be missing, but the extract from the *lex Laetoria* must have been quite short, because what survives at the top of 1020 is a *subscriptio* to a petition, not part of the law.

One interesting feature shared by the two pieces is the use of a cross in the margin to mark, presumably, two passages of special interest to some user of the papyrus. This

is probably related to the use of chi as a marginal symbol in literary papyri, perhaps meaning $\chi(\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma)$ or $\chi(\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu)$, see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Pap. Brux. 26) 20–21.

An endorsement on the back has the name of Claudius Julianus in the dative. The placing is inconvenient, near the middle of **4435**, see 23 n., but it seems to be an address. A. S. Hunt suggested in the introduction to **1020** that this was a collection of legal precedents associated with a petition; perhaps therefore we may imagine that the petition was one to the prefect of Egypt of that name who was in office c. 204–6, cf. G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 305, 38 (1980) 85, *ANRW* X.i 512. Most of the left edge is quite straight, although two large blots are right on the edge and look as if they might have been divided by a break there. Probably the petition would have been part of the same roll, but the precedents could well have been prefaced to the petition, see **4437**, P. Flor. III 382, esp. 29–30 and SB X 10537, with the discussion of the phenomenon and the examples cited by R. Katzoff, 'Precedents in the Courts of Roman Egypt', *ZRG* 89 (1972) 273–8.

It is strikingly clear that many of the Greek words are translations of Latin legal terms, especially in the first extract: $\alpha\eta\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$, *impubes*; $\omicron\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\eta\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma/\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, *qui rei publicae causa absunt/afuerunt*; $\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\iota\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, *minores viginti quinque annis*; $\kappa\upsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, *commune auxilium*; $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$, *rationis est*; $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, *adulescens*; $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, *coactus*; $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, *circumscriptus*. The question of Latin influence on Greek legal texts has been considered by W. Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974) 101–3. He points out that 'the use of Latinisms, in the sense of Greek equivalents of Latin technical terms, does not provide secure proof that the texts as a whole were not composed in Greek' (p. 102). N. Lewis takes a more favourable view of the likelihood of translation from the Latin, see e.g. M. Capasso *et al.* (edd.) *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. XIX) ii 348–9, R. S. Bagnall, W. V. Harris (edd.), *Studies ... A. A. Schiller* 136–7. LI **3614** 2–3 states that Severus on one occasion delivered his judgment in his native tongue ($\tau\eta\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\omega\ \phi\omega\nu\eta$). Here the extract from the *lex Laetoria* is said to have been translated 'as well as possible', $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$.

One last, and even more speculative, idea on the style of these pieces: the use of $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ (5) in the first extract could be of special significance. Expressions such as *manifestum est*, *notum est*, *rationis est*, have been identified as the most typical feature of the style of the *a libellis* who served from 194 to 202, who was Papinian according to A. M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 56–9, esp. 58 (top). Can we speculate that the *a libellis* accompanied the emperor on his visit to Egypt? We know that the emperor made decisions $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\ \mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ (XLII **3019** 6–9) and that Papinian was in Severus' entourage during his visit to Britain in 208–11, when he was the praetorian prefect, see F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* 95–6 and n. 89.

Written along the fibres; there is a manufacturer's sheet join at the extreme right edge.

κεφάλαιον ἐκ γνώμονος Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου (m.2) τῶν
κυρίων Σεβ[ατῶν. (up to c.10 letters?)]
η (ἔτους) (m.1) μηνι Φαμενώθ κδ—. ἐπὶ μέρος οὕτως τοῖς
ἀνήβοις καὶ [τοῖς τῆς δημοσίας]
χρείας ἔνεκεν ἀποδημοῦσι ἢ ἀποδημήσασιν ἢ συνήθης ὑπάρξει
β[οήθεια, τοὺς δὲ]
ἐλάττονος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατηθῆναι
φ[ανερῶς(?) περιεγράφησαν(?),]
5 καὶ αὐτοὺς βοηθείας τυχεῖν εὐ[λ]ογον. τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐ
τελείων τῆ[ν] ἡλικίαν διηγορευ- (?)
μένα καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν φυλαχθήσεται. (vac.)

ἐξ αἰτημάτων Ἀλεξανδρέων. πρὸ γγ⁻ Καλανδῶν
Ἰ[ανου]αρίων ἀξιούνη[ων νεωτέρων τινῶν τὰ (?)]
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων πρα[χ]θέντα χωρία βέβαι[ά τε μ]ένειν
καὶ μὴ [παρανόμως στέρεσθαι (?)]
αὐτῶν μετ' ἄλλα Καῖσαρ εἶπεν ἔαν δὲ ν[εώτ]ερός τις
X προσέ[λθῃ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ βήματι]
10 καὶ εἴπῃ, "ἀναγκαθεὶς περιγραφεῖς πέπρακά μου [τὰ χ]ωρία
πολλῶ [ἐλάττονος τῆς ἀξίας",]
οὐ βοηθήσομεν αὐτῷ; τί οἶν; ἰδιώτῃ μὲν βοη[θήσο]μεν, οὐ
βοη[θήσο]μεν δὲ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ τα-]
μείω. (vac.)

κεφάλαιον ἐκ νόμου Λαι[τ]ωρίου ἐρμην[ε]υθέντος κ[ατὰ τὸ
δυ]γατὸν [.] [c.15 letters
..—[...]. . . . [...]. [..]. [...]. [.....]. . . . [

1020

15 [.....] . . . εἰ περιγραφή[c.50 letters
τῷ κρατ[ίς]τῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἔντυ[χε]. (vac.?)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος [Εὐσεβῆς
 Π]ερτίναξ [ε]βαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηρικὸς
 Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκο[ς
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀν]τωνῖνο[ς Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς
 Οὐάρω Δαμασαίου. εἰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχεις β[οήθειαν,] ὁ
 ἡγούμ[ενος τοῦ ἔθνους]
 20 τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀφέσεως ἐκδικ[ήσει.] πρ[οετέθη] ἐν
 Ἀλεξανδ[ρεία] (year), month, (day).]
 X Προκόδῃ 'Ερμαίου δι' Ἐπαγάθ[ο]υ ἀπελευθέρου. εἰ τὴν ἐκ
 τῆς ἡ[λικίας ἔχεις βοήθειαν,]
 τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀπάτης ὁ ἡγούμ[ε]νος τοῦ ἔθνου[ς]
 ἐκδι[κ]ήσει. πρ[οετέθη] ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία (year), month, (day).]
 Back, downwards along the fibres: (m.3?) Κλαυδίω Ἰουλιανῶι.

2 L 4 ελατ' τονος: 1. ἐλάττονας; εἰ corr. from η; τὸ: ο corr. (from α?) 11]μ altered
 21 Προκόδῃ: eta corr. from omega 23 ἐκδι[κ]ήσει: εἰ corr. from eta

Chapter from the *gnomon* of Severus and Antoninus, (2nd hand) the lords Augusti, 8th year, (1st hand) month of Phamenoth 24. In part, as follows: "To *impuberes* and persons who are or were absent on public business the normal remedy shall be available; as for those under twenty-five years of age, if they (were clearly deceived?) so that they might be defrauded (?), it is reasonable for them too to obtain a remedy. The pronouncements(?) relating to those under the age of majority shall be observed also in respect of the cities".

From requests of Alexandrians. On the 13th day before the Calends of January. When (some young men?) requested that the lands sold by their guardians should remain warranted in their possession and (that they should not be illegally deprived of?) them, after other matter, Caesar said, "If some young man approaches (our tribunal?) and says, 'Under duress and because of deception I sold my lands at much (less than their value?)', shall we not give him a remedy? What follows? We shall give a remedy to a private person, but give no remedy to (our *fiscus*?)".

Chapter from the *lex Laetoria* translated as well as possible ...

'... if you are being defrauded(?) ... apply to the epistrategus, *uir egregius*.

Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to Varus son of Damasaesus(?). If you can claim the remedy arising from age of minority, the governor of the province will judge the case for release. Posted in public at Alexandria, on (date).

To Procondes(?) son of Hermaeus through Epagathus freedman. If you can claim the remedy arising from age of minority, the governor of the province will judge the case for fraud. Posted in public at Alexandria, on (date).

Back. (3rd hand?) 'To Claudius Julianus.'

1 The *gnomon* of Severus and Caracalla is not mentioned elsewhere. The fact that the item quoted is a 'response' given by Severus during their visit to Egypt suggests that the *gnomon* might have been a comprehensive collection of judgments delivered in Egypt during their visit, but this supposition must remain for new evidence to confirm or refute. The title of the famous *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (BGU V) gives a parallel for the use of the term for a set of regulations or rulings.

On the emperors' visit to Egypt see J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* 118-124, F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* 244-5, H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum* 218-221. For

the papyri recording its legal activity see P. Col. VI (*Apokrimata*) pp. 27-8, with additional references in LI 3614 introd. Add 4437 and LX 4068.

Probably nothing is missing at the end of the line, see 7, where only the month and day are given before the beginning of the extract. The formula *προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία* as written in 1020 or in P. Amh. II 63 (=M. Chr. 376).11-12, quoted below in 2 n., would probably be too long, but it could have been abbreviated in the second hand or less generously spaced, see next note, and remains possible.

1-2 The last three words of line 1 and the year number and symbol in line 2 have been added in blacker ink and a more informal hand. *μηρί* ranges with the beginnings of lines 3-6.

2 The date is the same as that of the public posting in Alexandria of the second of the two responses recorded in P. Amh. II 63: *προετέθη* [ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ]εῖα η (ἔτει) Φ[αμ]ενὸθ κδ- (11-12, cf. 6). Here it is not certain whether we have the date of the delivery of the response or that of its posting.

ἐπι μέρος. The prepositional phrase is slightly unusual, since it normally means 'particular', 'specific', see LSJ s.v. *μέρος* IV2.b citing Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 2 τῶν ἐπι μέρος φροντῶν, Polybius 7.7.6 τὰς ἐπι μέρος γράφειν πράξεις, 3.32.10 αἱ ἐπι μέρος συντάξεις. Rare too in the papyri, it is used in connection with claims to part of a guaranteed possession, see P. Köln II 232.12 ἐπι μέρος αὐτοῦ, XIV 1704 17 ἐπι μέρος αὐτῶν. Here it obviously means 'in part', but it is difficult to divine whether it has a special sense distinct from that of the common *μετ'* ἄλλα, cf. 9.

καὶ [. The kappa is written on the sheet-join, in such a way that the upper part of the upright is not perfectly in register with the lower part. There is also a longish oblique stroke running through the kappa from below on the left to above on the right, it too changing direction slightly as it passes over the join. This seems meaningless and is most probably an accidental stroke.

2-3 Young persons under the age of puberty (*ἀνηβοὶ* = *impuberes*, see M. Gdz. p. 251 n. 2) are linked with those who are or have been absent on state business. The same Greek phrase, *δημοσίας χρείας ἕνεκεν* = *rei publicae causa*, occurs in P. Cair. Masp. I 67087.5, but the context is not relevant here. The link is that both were eligible to ask for the annulment of acts done to their detriment, termed *restitutio in integrum*, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* 682 s.vv. *restitutio in integrum*, *restitutio in integrum propter absentiam*, *restitutio in integrum propter aetatem*, but the pronouncement here seems to state that they have a remedy from other, less unusual, processes of Roman law, cf. *Digest* IV 4.16 (from Ulpian *ad edictum* bk. 11) *In causae cognitione etiam hoc uersatur, num forte alia actio possit competere citra in integrum restitutionem, nam si communi auxilio* (cf. *ἡ συνήθως βοήθεια*) *et iure iuris munitus sit, non debet ei tribui extraordinarium auxilium*. Also relevant to the investigation of cause is the question whether perhaps any action could lie other than *restitutio in integrum*. For if a *minor* is protected by ordinary remedies and the normal law, extraordinary relief ought not to be given to him' (trans. A. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian* i 131). 'Ordinary' law may mean *inter alia* an action under the *lex Laetoria*, cf. 7-12 n., 13 n. *ἀνηβος* is new in the papyri. Under classical Roman law a child under seven years old was an *infans*, then boys up to fourteen years, and girls up to twelve, were *impuberes*.

βοήθεια = *auxilium*, see *Cod. Just.* II 21.4 *praeses provinciae in integrum restitutionis dare tibi auxilium debet*, cf. 21.1, 23.1, 24.1, etc., with 24.2 *minoribus annis uiginti quinque ... in integrum restitutionis auxilium superesse ... placuit*. *Superesse* here is equivalent to our *ὑπάρχει*, cf. P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. *supersum*, 7, 'to be (still) available to or at the disposal of'.

3-5 After they had ceased to be *impuberes* Roman citizens remained *minores* until the age of twenty-five. It is not perfectly clear why the distinction between *impuberes* and *minores uiginti quinque annis* is made here, but since in Egypt minority generally ended with puberty at the conventional age of fourteen, see R. Taubenschlag, *Law* 178, there may be some question of extending to the Egyptian population, or a portion of it, advantages usually available to Roman minors only. If so, this would be an unexpectedly early date, cf. N. Lewis, 'Ἀφῆλιξ Before and After the Constitutio Antoniniana', *BASP* 16 (1979) 117-119.

4 The run of the sense seems to make it inevitable that we should correct *ἐλάττονος* to the accusative plural, but the restoration at the end of the line is speculative.

φα[νερῶς]. The *a libellis* of this period is judged to place much emphasis on proof, see A. M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 57, so that this may be better than *φα[νερῶς]* or *φα[νερῶς]*, cf. *ibid.* n. 12, quoting *Cod. Just.* 3.31.2 *si liquido probaretur*.

For *περιεγράψαν* cf. 7-12 n.

5 *εὐ[λογ]όν*. This word is found also in 4437 3, in another response of Severus and Caracalla which also survives in XII 1405 and in XLIII 3105. 1405 2 has *εὐδηλόν ἔστιν* where 4437 3 has *εὐλογό[ν] ἔστιν*; the same passage in 3105 1-2 is badly damaged. Dr Rea writes: 'I was unable to confirm *εὐδηλόν* at the time of the

publication of Vol. XLIII, but now, whereas *εὐλογον* seems impossible to reconcile with the traces, I think that 1 could reasonably be read as *παρ[ε]χώρησας [τῶν] ἐαυτοῦ, ἐπ[ὶ]δη[λ]ον.* The three copies of this response show how unreliable in detail the Greek texts of legal pronouncements are liable to be, see **4437** introd., but it is interesting that these phrases seem to be the counterparts of such Latin phrases as *manifestum est* and *rationis est*, which have been described by A. M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 57, as 'the most striking feature' of the Latin style of the *a libellis* of the period 194–202, whom he identifies as Papinian. His use of both formulas may help to explain the variation in this particular text. For *rationis* = *εὐλογον* see G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II 169.10 *rationis igitur ελογονουν* (1. *εὐλογον οὖν*). For *rationis* as a predicate see P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1576 s.v. 7(d).

5 *τελείων τῆ[ν] ἡλικίαν*. Cf. P. Strassb. I 9.7 *τελιῶν* (read presumably *τελείων*) *τὴν ἡλικίαν*; Stud. Pap. XX 101 *μήπω τῶν παιδίων εἰς τελείαν ἡλικίαν ἀφιγμένων*.

5–6 The outline of the restoration is clear enough, though the word which ends in *-μενα* might be varied, e.g. *διατεταγμένα, ἀποπεφασμένα*, but the meaning of *ταῖς πόλεσι* is in doubt. It could refer to the Greek cities of Egypt, of which there were only three, Naucratis, Ptolemais Hermiu, and Antinoopolis, and it might in that case include Alexandria, not strictly speaking a Greek city, but an obvious anomaly, or it might refer to the nome capitals, which had just acquired the municipal attribute of town councils or were on the eve of doing so, or it might include all of these. Perhaps the last is the most likely, guessing that the point of the response was to give assurance that the Roman practice of extending legal help to young persons up to the age of twenty-five was to be applied also to peregrines.

6 *φυλαχθήσεται*. Cf. IV **705** 61–2 *τ[ὸ] ἴδιον δὴ καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] τούτου φυλαχθήσεται*, 'the same rule shall be observed in this case also', likewise in a decision of Severus and Caracalla.

7 *ἐξ αἰτημάτων Ἀλεξανδρέων*. Cf. SB X 10967.20 *ἐξ αἰτημάτων Μεμφιτῶν. μεθ' ἕτερα. Λιβερὰλ[ι]ς εἶπεν*. κτλ. The place is given as Memphis and the date as the 7th April 155; the extract is taken from records associated with a *conventus* held in Memphis by the prefect Sempronius Liberalis, cf. G. Foti-Talamanca, *Ricerche sul Processo* I 42–3 n. 111, n. 113, ii 266 n. 637. Severus and Caracalla obviously answered petitions from Alexandrians during their visit to Egypt, see introd. para. 1, although it is not obvious how the records were organized. The word *αἴτημα* is very rare in papyri, being found otherwise only in P. Flor. III 296.16 (VI); it is doubtfully restored in X **1273** 28 (260), and doubtfully restored too in IGL. Syr. 718.68, see H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* 20, s.v. *αἴτημα*.

The date here, 20 December 199, is one of the earliest for the imperial visit, the earliest being 18 December (P. Flor. III 382.23,26), the same date applying to two responses which are among a group of six prefaced to a petition to the prefect of c. AD 222/3 from an Alexandrian citizen who wanted to claim exemption from public services in the Hermopolite nome, where he held land. The text is very badly damaged, but it is possible that these rescripts were answers to Alexandrian citizens and, if so, the Alexandrians may have been admitted to present their requests first on this occasion. Against this hypothesis we may note that the Oxyrhynchite petitioner in IV **705** claims that the Oxyrhynchites were admitted to the tribunal of Severus and Caracalla 'first after the Pelusiot'. Alexandria would be expected to take precedence over Pelusium. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that the Alexandrians had a separate hearing, before that of the inhabitants of the nomes.

7–12 This passage is full of uncertainties. However, the combination of *ν[ε]ώτερος* (9) with *περιγραφεί* (10) seems to relate to *circumscriptio adulescentium*, 'defrauding young men', which was an offence under the *lex Laetoria*, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary* 388 s.v. *circumscribere*, 557 s.v. *Lex Laetoria* (Laetoria?) *de minoribus*. The form *Laetoria* is confirmed by the papyri, see 13 n. Its appearance below in 13 is a sort of confirmation that 7–12 relate to *circumscriptio*. An *adulescens* was a young man between fourteen and twenty-five years of age, see Berger, s.v., p. 352.

7 For *ἀξιούνη* cf. XLII **3019** 13 *ἀξιόσαντος Διονυσίου* κτλ. The restoration could be varied in several ways; for *νεωτέρων* see previous note.

8 *πραχθέντα χωρία* makes no obvious sense; the correction to *πραχθέντα* is suggested by *πέπρακά μου [τὰ] χωρία* in 10. Similar corrections have been made in a famous edict of a prefect of Egypt, see G. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tiberius Iulius Alexander* pp. 28–9 *τὰ ὑπὸ ἰδιοπτῶν πραχθέντα* (1.27), *τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος λόγου πραχθέντων* (1.30), cf. commentary *ibid.* 137–157.

It seems most likely in this context that the *ἐπίτροποι* are guardians of minors, rather than imperial procurators, since the main subject is that of minority and the phrase *πέπρακά μου [τὰ] χωρία* in 10 ought

to refer to the same sort of transaction. (Some minors would naturally attribute the sales of which they complained to their guardians rather than to themselves.) But doubt is raised by the probable reference to the interest of the *fiscus* in 11–12, see n.

It may be very relevant that Severus, in a speech to the senate delivered in 195, see *Digest* XXXVII 9.1, forbade the sale of country or suburban properties (*praedia rustica uel suburbana; χωρία = praedia?*) by tutors or curators, except in certain circumstances. This may have given occasion for appeals against transactions concluded before the prohibition or afterwards in contravention of it. One of the exceptions might arise in connection with sales of lands for the purpose of settling debts. If a debt settled in this way were one to the *fiscus*, we might easily imagine a conflict between the interest of the *fiscus* and the laws in favour of minors.

At the end of the line the restoration would perhaps be more satisfactory if *χωρία* continued to be the subject and the meaning were 'and not be taken from them', but nothing convincing has been thought of.

9–10, 21 For the cross in the left margin opposite these lines see introd. para. 3. The two passages were presumably especially relevant to the case of the individual who commissioned the document, but we do not know whether the marks indicate his view of the case or the official view. The one in 9–10 at least looks as if it is by the same pen as the endorsement on the back (see introd. and 23 n.). Both passages relate to the deception of minors. The first indicates that he sold property during his minority and wished to have the sale annulled, the second that he or the authorities thought that the case should be settled in the court of the prefect of Egypt, presumably Claudius Julianus, see introd. and below 23 and n.

10 *ἀναγκασθείς*. This may be a translation of Latin *coactus*, and so introduce another legal concept, that of duress, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary* 391 s.v. *coactus volui*, 581–2 s.v. *metus*. This would be a separate action from one for *circumscriptio*, cf. 7–12 n., but a person applying to the emperor could well be asking him to appoint a lower judge and prescribe the best action available. For a similar case where force was also alleged see BGU II 378 (= M. Chr. 60).20–21 [ὁ] *πὲρ ἀνάγκασέν* (1. *ἠνάγκασέν*) *με γράψαι βία ἄκοντα, τυγχάνω γὰρ γεγραφώς* [τ] *οὔτο ἔτι ἐντὸς ὧν τοῦ Λαιτωρίου νόμου*.

At the end of the line we should perhaps expect the putative applicant to state that the earlier sale was disadvantageous to him, i.e. that the price was too low, cf. P. Lond. I 111(1).10–27 (pp. 200–201). In this document of the sixth century a man says that in his minority he sold property and was defrauded because the price was too low, *πρὸ [τῆς μεθέξει] ως ἐνόμου ἡλικίας τῶν εἰκοσι πέντε ἐνιαυτῶν τὴν πρῶτον ἐποιήσατο καὶ περιεγράφη. τὸ γὰρ τίμημα οὐκ ἄξιον τοῦ πράγματος [αὐτοῦ] ἔλεγεν καταβελήσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔλαττον* (11–13), cf. *ἔνεκεν ἐλάττωνος (= -ονος) τιμῆς* (15), *περὶ παραλλήλου τιμήματος* (26). Compare *Cod. Just.* II 36.1, where although the minor claimed to have been defrauded by an imperial official, a *dispensator*, the price was again too low, *pretio longe minore*. Perhaps, therefore we should restore something like *πολλῶ [ἐλάττωνος τῆς ἀξίας]*, 'for much less than its value'.

10–11 If at the beginning of line 11 *ου* represents *οὐ*, these words must be a question, 'Shall we not help him?', rather than a statement, 'We shall not help him'. This can be avoided by restoring something slightly different in 10–11, e.g. *πολλῶ [ἐλάττωνος τοῦ δικαί-]ου*. The sense remains much the same.

11–12 This section is much the most difficult to grasp both in grammar and in sense. The end in *μειω* suggests only a reference to the *fiscus* as *ταμείω*. This is surprising, though it recalls *Cod. Just.* II 36, where the minor complains that he was defrauded by an imperial *dispensator*; we can also refer to P. Col. VI 35–6 *ἐπ[ὶ] τὴν οὐσίαν δεδημεύσθαι φής*, with A. Schiller, H. C. Youtie, *CE* 30 (1955) 334, 344–5. The appearance of the *fiscus* suggests the possibility that the *ἐπίτροποι* might be Roman procurators rather than guardians of minors, contrast 8 n.

τί οὖν may stand on its own, meaning 'What then?' or 'What follows?', or the *τί* may introduce a longer question, 'So why are we to give a remedy to a private person, but to give no remedy to our *fiscus*?'. Although it is notorious that there was a tendency for the interest of the *fiscus* to outweigh all others, this sentiment seems inappropriate to the general tenor of the laws and the professed policy of most emperors, cf. especially *Cod. Just.* II 36.1 *iuris publici fiscus noster in iure restitutionis sequetur auctoritatem* (AD 200), *Digest* IV 1.8 *minores annis etiam qui per tutores curatorum suos defensi sunt nihilo minus in integrum contra rem publicam restituntur, cognita scilicet causa*. The restoration therefore takes *τί οὖν* as a rhetorical question, 'What follows?', and the remainder of the extract as a statement that the emperors will favour the interests of minors even to the detriment of the *fiscus*. We can perhaps compare the rescript found in **4437** and two other papyri, which declares that the *fiscus* does not seek cessions of property from persons who profess to be too poor to perform a public service to which they have been nominated, but that such ceded estates should go to the persons nominated as replace-

ments, τὸ γὰρ] ταμ(ε)ῖον ἡμῶν τῶ(ν) τοιού[τ]ω[ν] παρ[α]χωρήσεων οὐκ ἐφίεται, 'for our *fiscus* does not desire such cessions' (4437 7-8: this wording is guaranteed by the other copies).

In 11 the restoration is long, twenty letters against seventeen for 10 and eighteen for 9. Nevertheless, τῶ ἡμετέρῳ ταμείῳ seems likely, comparing *fiscus noster* in *Cod. Just.* II 36.1 (15 October 200), although τὸ ταμείον ἡμῶν in 4437 7, see above, no doubt translates the same expression; τῶ ἡμῶν ταμείῳ is a remotely possible, but very unlikely, word order.

13 On the *lex Laetoria* see introd. para. 1 and 7-12 n. above. The form *Laetoria*, rather than *Plaetoria*, is favoured by the papyri, cf. *RE* V 578, X 1274 13, XVII 2111 15, BGU II 378 (=M. Chr. 60).20-21, 611 (=M. Chr. 370) i 6-7 (*legis Laetoriae ... a iuxilio*, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 8.12.2).

The explicit reference to a translation is interesting, but is no guarantee that the other extracts were composed in Greek. The genitive agreeing with νόμου, rather than ἐρμηνευθέν agreeing with κεφάλαιον, could be used to argue that a translation of the whole law was available for use and that it was not necessary to make a translation of just one chapter on this occasion, but perhaps this would be pressing the wording too hard.

For κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν in reference to translation cf. e.g. BGU VII 1662.7, P. Diog. 9.1, P. Harris I 67 ii 11, XIX 2231 28, PSI V 549.2, SB I 5231 (=5275).1, 20, 5246.1, UPZ II 177.1, and the close of the Potter's Oracle (55-6; ZPE 2 (1968) 208).

δυ]νατόν [. . .]. The two letters of which there are traces may have followed δυ]νατόν directly and there can hardly have been much space before them. However, we would expect the heading to end here.

14 The horizontal looks just like the numeral markers in 2 and 7. It is not easy to see the need for a number. It seems unlikely that we had a precise date for this Roman law of the Republican period. Perhaps possible is a chapter number, see R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*⁴ 295§ B, reading perhaps ι. . . . Perhaps the best suggestion comes from Dr Coles, that is, that this is the significant age of twenty-five years marking the end of minority, reading κ[ε] in and supposing that the epsilon was tucked under the horizontal like the gamma of ιγ in 7, and that the trace represented by the second dot belongs to κ.

15-22 = VII 1020, reprinted in P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* No. 17, and in J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* Nos. 220-222. The transcript has been checked against a photograph of the original taken in Cairo for the International Photographic Archive.

15-16 Line 16 is clearly part of an official *subscriptio* instructing a petitioner to apply to the epistrategus, and, as Hunt observed, not another imperial pronouncement. On *subscriptio*es see e.g. J. D. Thomas in E. Van't Dack *et al.* (edd.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* 369-382. There is no extra line space above it, and indeed line 15 may well be part of the *subscriptio* itself. Since the height of the two pieces combined is roughly 27 cm, it seems probable that the extract from the *lex Laetoria* was fairly short. It would no doubt have been followed by the usual blank space. It may be that 4435, 16 cm high, represents about half the height of the original piece and that 1020, 10.8 cm high, came after a loss of about 5 cm.

15 [.] . . . εἰ περιγραφῆ]. In 1020 this line appears as [.]]ας· εἰ περιγραφῆ]. There is a space before εἰ. Possibly the subscription began here, and περιγραφῆ might represent the second person singular passive indicative περιγράφῃ, i.e. 'If you are being defrauded . . . apply to the *uir egregius* the epistrategus'. Before this]ας cannot be confirmed from the photograph. One might rather expect a day number surviving from a date clause in a short form: (ἔτους) x (month) y (day) (1-30), see J. D. Thomas *op. cit.* p. 370. This is not necessarily the right view. The date might have stood at the end of 15 and the body of the subscription might have begun with line 16, cf. SB XIV 12087.17. In that case it is more difficult to imagine the nature of the preliminary matter in 15.

16 τῶ κρατ[ί]τῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἐντυ[χε]. In 1020 this line appeared as [.] τῶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἐντυ[χε]. It was suggested by J. D. Thomas, *Epistrategos* ii 159, n. 49 that the epithet appeared here. BL VIII 240 interpreted this as τ[ὸ] κρα[τ]ίτῳ. The photograph shows more faint traces, most prominent among them the descender of the rho.

17-18 These lines are in part written in a more sloping and rapid script than the text above and below, but this more sloping script is not obviously an addition as it is in 1-2.

19 Δαμασαίου. This name remains unique and therefore suspicious, cf. 21 n. If genuine, its nominative might be Δαμασαῖος or Δαμασάεας. The nearest known name is Δαμασίας.

20 πρ[ο]ετέθη] ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρ]είᾳ. In 1020 this line appeared as πρ[ο]ετέθη] ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρ]είᾳ]. Perhaps a piece has been lost, but there is no indication now that the last word was abbreviated and no need to suppose

that the space is too short for πρ[ο]ετέθη] in full. There is no visible abbreviation in any other part of the document. The year, month and day will have followed, cf. above 2 n.

J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* p. 445 restored [οἱ αὐτοί] at the end of this line. There seems no doubt that 21-2 contained another pronouncement of Severus and Caracalla, but there is no room to restore οἱ αὐτοί as well as the indispensable year, month and day. In a similar context we find rather ἄλλο τῶν αὐτῶν, see LX 4068 12, 16, but nothing is required here except the date.

21 For the cross in the margin see introd. para. 3 and 9-10 n.

Προκόνδη (η corr. from ω). Hunt first interpreted this as a Latin name, Procunda, which has not appeared elsewhere, but in the margin of his copy of P. Oxy. VIII, now in the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, he wrote a note confirming that pi is certain here, as it is, but referring to VIII 1130 2, where the name of the consul of AD 482 is given in the genitive as Τρωκόνδη, cf. J. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 1127-8; elsewhere it appears as Τροκόνδη, see BGU XI 2156.2, P. Rain. Cent. 107.1, P. Matrit. 7.2, and P. Lond. V 1896.1. A microfilm of this last confirms that it has Τρ[ο]κόνδη rather than Τρ[ο]κονδί[ου]. For the genitive in eta cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 14. According to L. Robert, *REA* 90 (1977) 435 No. 553, Τροκονδας is a name common in Lycia, Cibyratis, Pisidia, Isauria, Pamphylia and Western Lycia, cf. id. *Noms indigènes* 425 n. 4, and perhaps 427 (Ταρκονδας). It seems quite likely that the same indigenous name is to be understood here. The change of the ending from omega to eta might be considered to offer some support to this suggestion.

24 Κλαυδίῳ Ἰουλιανῶι. See introd. para. 4. This looks like an address, but it stands about 9 cm from the left edge of the front, while addresses on letters are normally much closer. The explanation may be that the petition plus precedents formed a long roll with a large enough circumference to allow this line still to appear on the outside. Part of the back (about 9 cm wide) is darkened as if perhaps it had been more exposed, but the endorsement is at the edge of this dark area, not fully in it as might be expected. The most striking example of a long petition is II 237, the famous petition of Dionysia.

U. WARTENBERG

4436. PRIVATE ACCOUNT OF MONEY AND WINE

48 5B.25/G(3)a

14 × 26 cm

c. 207/8 or 175/6?

This private account has 4438 upside down on the back, a copy of an application for the registration of property certainly written after 250 (see 4438 5 n.) and dating probably from 252. The account is evidently earlier, since it is written along the fibres and presumably on the recto of the original roll, although there is no sheet join to prove it. It mentions regnal years fifteen and sixteen: to find such high numbers it is necessary to go back at least to the reign of Severus and Caracalla, that is to 206/7 and 207/8, and the single wine price which seems to emerge perhaps suggests an even earlier date, e.g. 15 and 16 Marcus Aurelius, 174/5 and 175/6, see ii 7-8 n. See 4438 introd. for the reuse of papyrus after such a long interval.

The papyrus is broken at the top, but the loss there is probably very little, to judge from the complete document on the other side (4438). The bottom edge is virtually complete and the edges on either side are vertical and only slightly damaged by wear, since they are the edges of the sheet which was cut out of the account roll to take the text of 4438. The fairly well preserved second column is an account of wine, mostly

delivered 'to you, Philiscus'. For the normal entries the amounts, which were on the right, are lost. At the foot of this are beginnings of seven more lines, which are short and crowded over to the right, being very rapidly written and much abbreviated. Their heading ζητ() probably indicates that they concerned arrears, and there were probably quantities given at the ends here too, see ii 34 n. The scanty remains of the first column are mostly sums of money in drachmas. They occupy the top half only; either the space below was blank or shorter lines were used in the lower half. Two lines in a more rapid style were written below and rather to the right (i 15-16). They are probably to be regarded as an intercolumnar note relating to the second column, but concerning ὄξος rather than οἶνος. Col. ii 7-9 are also in a more rapid style. It may be that i 15-16, ii 7-9 and ii 28-34 were all written in vacant spaces by a second person going over the account as first drafted.

It is very difficult to guess the context. Philiscus may have been a businessman or an estate employee receiving regular consignments of wine for retail to his customers. None of the persons mentioned has been identified.

Col. i

]. - #
] ..
] α() κατὰ μ(έρος) (δρ.) ς
] .. (vac.)
 5] . κοι (vac.)
] (δρ.) ριη
] (δρ.) ς
] (δρ.) τ
] (δρ.) ς
 10] (δρ.) ς
] (δρ.) ς
] . . . υτ() (δρ.) ρ
] (δρ.) ς
] (δρ.) τξ
 15] (m.2?) ὄξ(ουσ?) Ἀπολλῶς νομικ(ός) ιγ
] Πασι[ί]ων γυμ(νασιαρχ-) λ

Col. ii

] . . . [.] μοι δια . . .
 ις⁻ ἀνηρέχ(θη) κοι ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ [(vac.?)]
 καὶ μέχρι Χοίακ ιζ⁻ ἔσχεσ [] [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 οἶνο(υ) γενήμ(ατος) ιε (ἔτους) ἄλ(λα) (vac.) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 5 καὶ Φαῶ(φι) ιθ⁻ γενεαίο(ις) Διονυσίο(υ) υἱοῦ
 τοῖς ἐν οἴκ(ω) (vac.) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 (m.2?) Ἄγαθος κοσμητ(η)- οἶνου (τετρά)χ(οα) μ⁻
 (ὄν) τιμ(ῆ) δοθ(ήσεται?) (δρ.) ρκ.
 . . . (vac.)
 10 (m.1) οἶνο(υ) ὁμοί(ωσ) γενήμ(ατος) ις (ἔτους) ἀνηρέχ(θη) κοι
 Φιλ(ίσκω) ποτ(έα) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 καὶ ἄλ(λα) ἕως Χοίακ ιζ⁻ κατὰ μ(έρος) (vac.) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 Χοίακ ιθ⁻ ἀνηρέχ(θη) κοι ἀπὸ κείφω(νος) ποτ(έα)
 [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 Μεχειρ ιγ⁻ ἀνηρέχ(θη) κοι ὁμοίως [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 ις⁻ ἀνηρέχ(θη) κοι [.] α ἀπὸ παλ(αιού?) κτήμ(ατος) [] [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 15 καὶ ποτέα ἀπὸ κείφω(νος) εἰς δύο [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 Φα(μενῶθ) λ⁻ κοι Φιλίσκω ἀπὸ παλ(αιού?) κτήμ(ατος) δια . . . [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 καὶ ἄλ(λα) οἶνου ἀπὰ (sic) λιβικροῦ κτήμ(ατος)
 [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 Φαρ(μοῦθι) ις⁻ κοι Φιλ(ίσκω) ἠνέχ(θη) ἀπὸ καταγείου) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 20 κγ⁻ κοι ὁμοίως Φιλ(ίσκω) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 κθ⁻ κοι ὁμοίως Φιλ(ίσκω) ἀπὸ καταγείου) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 Παχ(ών) ιδ⁻ κοι ὁμ[ο]ίως ἀπὸ καταγείου) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []
 καὶ ἀπὸ Παχών κβ⁻ ἕως λ⁻ Παῦνι []
 ἠνέχ(θη) κοι κατὰ μέρος ἀπ[ὸ] κ[α]τα-
 γείου οἷς κυμπέπεισα[ι] ἄλ(λα) [(τετρά)χ(οα) []

25 καὶ ἀπὸ Ἐπειπ α[-] ἕως ἐπαγομ(ένων)
 ἕσχεσ κατὰ μ(έρος) ο[ἴ]ς ζυμπέπεισαι
 (γίνεται) (τετρά)χ(οα) ρ . .
 (m.2?) ζήτ(ει). Ἀμμών[ι]ος ζ . . . []
 Φαγίας Φαγίου []
 30 Φ γ() []
 υἱὸς α ητ() ε . . []
 (π)ρ(ο)εφωγη() (vac.) []
 Cαρ() δι(ὰ) Cαρα() ὀνόμ(ατι) C . []
 χάριν (vac.) []

Col. i
 3] .^a, κατα^μ, and so throughout, ζ=(δραχμή), and so throughout 12] . . . υ^τ 15 οξ',
 νομ^κ 16 γυμζ

Col. ii
 2 ανηνε^λ, and so throughout 4 ουν^ο, γενη^μ, and so throughout, ιεζ, α^λ, and so throughout
 5 φα^ω, γεγεσι^ο διονυσι^ο 6 οι^κ 7 κοσ^μ, χ^δ=(τετρά)χ(οα), and so throughout 8 L=
 (ὄν)τιμ^{δοθ} 10 ομρ^ι, ιςζ, φι^λ=Φιλ(ίσκω) and so throughout, πο^τ? 12 σειφ^ω: l. cίφω(νος); πο^τ
 14 πα^λκτη^μ 15 σειφ^ω: l. cίφω(νος) 16 φα⁻, πα^λκτη^μ 17 l. ἀπό; κτη^μ 18 φαρ⁻,
 ηνε^λαποκ⁻ 20 καταγει^ο 21 πα^λ, καταγει^ο 25 l. Ἐπειφ; επαγο^μ 28 ζή^τ
 30 gamma raised? 31 η^τ 32 ρ^εφωγη) 33 cαρ), δ with iota below, cαρα)ονο^μ

Col. i
 '... by instalments dr. 200, ... to you ... dr. 118(?) ob. 6(?), ... dr. 200, ... dr. 300, ... dr. 200, ...
 dr. 200, ... dr. 200, ... dr. 100, ... dr. 200, ... dr. 360.
 (2nd hand?) Vinegar(?): Apollos, lawyer(?) 13, Pasion, (former?) gymnasiarch 30.'

Col. ii
 (1st hand) '... to me through(?) ...
 On the 16th there were delivered to you from the country tetrachoa (so many)
 And up to Choeac 17th you had, in wine of the 15th year, another tetrachoa (so many)
 And on Phaophi 19th for the birthday of Dionysius (your?) son, for the persons in the household,
 tetrachoa (so many)'
 (2nd hand?) 'Agathus (former?) cosmetes in wine tetrachoa 40, for which the price of dr. 120 shall be given(?).'
 (1st hand) 'In wine likewise of the 16th year there were delivered to you, Philiscus, ready to drink
 (tetrachoa so many)
 And up to Choeac 17th by instalments another tetrachoa (so many)
 On Choeac 19th there were delivered to you from the siphon, ready to drink (tetrachoa so many)

On Mecheir 13th there were delivered to you likewise tetrachoa (so many)
 On the 16th there were delivered to you ... from the old(?) holding (tetrachoa so many)
 And ready to drink, from the siphon, for(?) two (tetrachoa so many)
 On Phamenoth 30th to you Philiscus from the old(?) holding through(?) ... (tetrachoa so many)
 And, in wine from(?) the western holding, another (tetrachoa so many)
 On Pharmuthi 16th there were conveyed to you, Philiscus, from the cellar (tetrachoa so many)
 On the 23rd to you likewise, Philiscus (tetrachoa so many)
 On the 29th to you likewise, Philiscus, from the cellar tetrachoa (so many)
 On Pachon 14th to you likewise from the cellar tetrachoa (so many)
 And from Pachon 22nd up to the 30th of Pauni there were conveyed to you by instalments from the
 cellar, being those for which you have agreed, another tetrachoa (so many)
 And from Epeiph 1st up to the intercalary days you had by instalments from the cellar, being those
 for which you have agreed (tetrachoa so many).
 Total tetrachoa 100+.'

(2nd hand?) 'Query. Ammonius ...
 Phanius son of Phanius ...
 Ph ...
 (His?) son ...
 There were reported (?) ...
 Sar() through Sara() in the name of S ...
 for the sake of(?) ...'

Col. i
 3 κατὰ μ(έρος). The translation 'by instalments' is a guess. Where it occurs below, it is associated with
 a note of a period of time over which wine deliveries were made, see especially ii 23, where it is written in
 full. This suggests that the entry totals the amounts delivered on two or more occasions. Cf. perhaps XXVII
 2472 γ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης κατὰ μέρος ἐκ λεπτῶν, translated as 'from the same village from individual small
 payments ...'.

5 coi. This matches the issues of wine 'to you Philiscus' in col. ii. Presumably Philiscus was receiving
 money from the same source as the wine, which suggests some sort of internal arrangement within a business
 or an estate. This might have some bearing on the seemingly very low wine price, see ii 7-8 n.

6 The traces at the end might possibly be interpreted as οβ[ο]λ^ξ, i.e. ὀβ[ο]λ(οἰ)ς, cf. LIX 3993 5-6 n.,
 last para.

15-16 These lines are probably to be regarded as marginal notations to col. ii, since vinegar goes with
 wine. The hand is rapid and more sloping than the rest, but very like col. ii 7-8, 28-34. The persons have
 not been traced elsewhere.

On ὄξος, 'vinegar', see N. Kruit, ZPE 90 (1992) 267-8. Alternatively οξ' might represent some form of
 the name of Oxyrhynchus or of a derivative, e.g. -χίτης, -χίτικός, or possibly -χίτιον, cf. ii 7-8 n. The figures
 might denote vessels.

νομικ(ός). The term usually seems to refer to some sort of notary. For the confusing evidence see A. K.
 Bowman, J. D. Thomas, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 61.2 (1979) 309. The expansion νομικ(άριος) is
 excluded because the first mention of that office falls in AD 298, see LIX 3985 intro.

Col. ii
 5 This most probably indicates that Dionysius was the son of Philiscus, but a search of the Duke Data
 Bank for a combination of the two names did not reveal any promising candidate for identification.

7-8 Cf. col. i 15-16 n. Agathus, cosmetes or ex-cosmetes, has not been traced elsewhere.
 The price of the wine, 3 dr. for a tetrachoon, at least suggests an early date, although nothing very
 precise can be said. Even the second century prices given by H.-J. Drexhage, Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und
 Löhne im römischen Ägypten 58-73, seem to be mostly higher than this, although the measures and the quality
 are both uncertain. Four choes were about 13.13 litres according to F. Hulstsch, Griechische und römische Metrologie
 703, Tab. XA. By the middle of the third century, as Dominic Rathbone, Economic Rationalism and Rural Society
 in Third-century AD Egypt, shows, the Heroninus archive attests prices between 8 and 20 drachmas (pp. 466-7)

for a ceramion/monochoron estimated as containing about 7 litres (p. 469). That estate's oxyrhynchition contained about half as much again (p. 469), that is, although it is assessed there at c. 10.5 litres, it may well have been a four-chous jar. Our estimates of ancient measures are fairly imprecise and the measures themselves were probably variable. Those prices are well above what we find here. Here there is the possibility that this account records transactions internal to some business or estate, see *i* 5 n., and there may even be a further possibility that this entry could be interpreted as referring to an amount still to be paid in addition to a previous part payment.

10 ποτ(έα). Cf. 12, with what seems to be the same form of abbreviation, with a raised tau, and *15*, where the word is given in full. It does not occur in the papyrological dictionaries or in the Duke data bank.

12 ἀπό κείφω(νος), cf. 15. It seems likely that this refers to what we also call a siphon, since its use was known to the Egyptians in Pharaonic times, see C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* IV.2 p. 1347 s.v. *sipho*, J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (revised S. Birch, 1878) vol. ii pp. 313–4. At a guess it was used in this case to draw the new wine from a large vat into four-chous containers. One of its advantages was that it could be used with care to leave the lees undisturbed at the bottom of the vat.

These deliveries seem to have been of wine just ready to drink, put into jars for these occasions. The contrasting entries below with *ἀπό καταγείου* suggest that that wine had been put into jars previously for storage in a cellar.

14 .[.] α. The remains of the first letter suggest lambda; after the gap the trace is a descender close enough to the last letter to look like iota. No sensible word has been thought of.

παλ(αιοῦ?) cf. 16. The superscript letter seems clearly to be a lambda. The word order suggests that it is not the name of the holding, so that *παλ(αιοῦ)* seems to be the best possibility.

15 εἰς δύο. Although *εἰς* is frequent with numerals, see LSJ s.v. III.2, suggesting 'to the number of two', or 'two abreast' or 'two deep', in this context the meaning remains mysterious.

18 ἀπό κ(αταγείου). Cf. 20, 21, 23–4, with *12* n. It is odd that the most drastically abbreviated version comes first.

32 For the abbreviation of *πρός* to *ρ* see XL 2915 20 n. This word (*προσφωνεῖν*) usually appears in official contexts. Since the hand is very rapid, there is the possibility that it is misread, in spite of appearances.

34 χάριν. Presumably this is the prepositional use and it comes after its case, as usual. It suggests that quantities were given at the ends of the lines in this section also.

J. R. REA

4437. RESCRIPT OF SEVERUS; APPLICATION TO A STRATEGUS

51 4B.18/G(1–3)a

10.5 × 12 cm

c. 229–236/7

This is the third surviving petition addressed to Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, by men appointed to village liturgies who refuse to serve and, on the authority of the same rescript of Severus and Caracalla, which they put as a preface to their petition, surrender their property to the person responsible for their nomination, see XII 1405, XLIII 3105 (J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* Nos. 240A, B). This one finally contributes the beginning of the rescript, although in a slightly garbled form. It is instructive to see how many minor differences there are in the three versions of this seemingly crucial pronouncement, although most are mere phonetic spellings. Precision in these matters was not so important as it now seems to us, cf. e.g. the different texts of another rescript of the same emperors in the versions of BGU I 267 and P. Strassb. I 22 (Oliver, op. cit. Nos. 223A, B).

It is difficult to grasp the significance of the accumulation of documents of this type. All three possibly come from the records of the strategus Leonides, but they do

not all come from the same season of excavation: **4437** has an inventory number with the element 4B, denoting the fourth season, while **3105** has the element 3B, for the third; the inventory number of **1405** is lost. They are not all of the same date since **1405** mentions the current third year, which must be that of the reign of Maximinus and Maximus, i.e. 236/7, in order to fit into Leonides' term of office, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 98, while **3105** has the remains of a date clause of Severus Alexander which sets it between the beginning of Leonides' strategiate in 228 or 229 and the spring of 235, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 108. (This damaged passage of **3105** has been checked again and the reading confirmed, i.e. it has *Αύρηλιού* *ϐ* *Σεουή* *[ρ]* *ου* [*Α* *λεξάνδρου* *ϐ*] (30), and not any version of *Γαίου* *Ίουλίου* *Ούήρου* *Μαξιμίουνου*.) There are no parallel documents outside the period of Leonides' service. We do not know whether there was a significant increase in the number of cases of *cessio honorum* at this date or whether the phenomenon is typical of the whole period.

Only the beginning of the petition survives. The writing runs along the fibres of the recto, as is shown by a sheet join running vertically c. 5 cm from the left edge. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

θεοὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου Καπίτων Ἑρμοφάντου.

εἰς {c}, ὡς φήζ, {ει} διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς λειτουργίας παρεχώρη-

σας τῶν σεαυτοῦ, εὐλόγῳ [ν ἐστι]ν μὴ τῷ ταμείῳ ἡμῶν(ν)

τὴν παραχώρησιν [γενέσ]θαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ εἰς τῆ(ν)

5 λιτ[ο]υργίας ἐ[λο]μέν[ω, δε ἀναλ]α[β]ῶν σου τὰ ὑπάρχο(ν)-

τα τὸ τίμημά σο[υ] τὸ πολιτικὸν] παρέξι καὶ τὴν λει-

τουργίαν ἀποπ[ληρώσει. τὸ γὰρ] ταμίον ἡμῶν τῷ(ν)

τοιοῦ [τ]ω[ν] παρ[αχωρήσεων ο]ὐκ [ἐ]φίεται, οὐδὲ

ἡ ἐπιτι[μ]ία [σου βλαβήσ]εται οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ cῶ-

10 μα [[σου] ὑ[β]ριθήσει. προετέθη η (ἔτους) Μεχείρ ἐν

Ἀλεξανδ(ρεία).

Αύρηλιῷ Λεωνίδῃ στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυχέιτου

παρὰ Αύρηλιῦ Ἡρακλείδου Πετρωνί(ου) μητρος

Πλουτάρχῃς ἀπὸ κώμης Ταλαῶ. ἀντονομα-

στεις παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπὸ [.] Ὄρου Ὄρου μητρος

15 Καλαμίνης εἰς πρακ[το]ρείαν ἀργυρικῶν κω-

μητικῶν λημμ[άτων] τῆς αὐτῆς Ταλαῶ

τόπων [.] . . . [.] αι ἀντέχειν

ωνη[] c.20 letters] διὰ σοῦ

c.25 letters] . . [

2 l. εἰ, ὡς φής, διὰ κτλ. 3 ημῶν 4 l. ἐε; τῆ 5 l. λειτουργίαν; υπαρχῶ 6 l. παρέξει
7 l. ταμείον; τῶ 10 ης, ἀλεξανδ 11 l. Ὁξυρρυχίτου 13-14 l. ἀντονομαθείς

'The deified Severus and Antoninus to Capito son of Hermophantus, "If, as you claim, you ceded your property because of the burden of the liturgy, it stands to reason that the cession is not made to our treasury but to the person who nominated you to the liturgy, who, having taken possession of your property, will hold in readiness (the equivalent of) your civil property qualification(?) and fulfil the duties of the liturgy, for our treasury does not desire such cessions, nor will your citizenship be injured nor will you be subjected to corporal punishment." Posted in public in the 8th year, Mecheir, in Alexandria.'

'To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Heracleides son of Petronius(?) mother Plutarche from the village of Talao. Having been nominated by Horus son of Horus mother Calamine to succeed him as *practor* of money taxes of the revenue from villagers of the district of the same Talao, which is beyond my means, ... through you ...'

1 θεοὶ Σευήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος. This is the short posthumous formula, cf. the doublets BGU I 267 and P. Strassb. I 22 (Oliver, op. cit. No. 223A and B), the first with a long formula (similar to 4435 17-18), the second the same as here.

2 εἰ{ε}, ὡς φής (l. φής), {εἰ}. This seems a plausible way of understanding the writing, which is very clear. Possibly the clerk thought that he was writing a version of ἕως φήσει or φησί. Phrases like *ut diuis/ adlegas/ adseueras/ proponis* are frequently found in imperial rescripts, although they are not especially characteristic of the period 194-202, see A.M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 147-156 s.vv., 56-9. For zeta in place of sigma see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 120-124, esp. 123 § 2a.

Just possibly we should select the epsilon iota before βάρος to represent εἰ and mark what precedes with a *συνα, εἰωσφής*†. This could possibly represent some expression meant to accompany the name or patronymic of the addressee.

We can now imagine restorations for the beginnings of the parallel documents:

1405	[θεοὶ Σευήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος Καπίτωνι [Ἐρμοφάντου. εἰ, ὡς φής, διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς λειτου]ρ[γίας] παρεχώρησας τῶν σεαυτοῦ] εὐδελόν ἐστὼ μὴ τῷ κτλ.	32 27 25 26
3105	[θεοὶ Σευήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος Καπίτωνι Ἐρ- μοφάντου. εἰ, ὡς φής, διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς λειτουρ- γίας] παρ[ε]χώρησας [τῶν ε]σεαυτοῦ εἰ[δ]η[λ]όν ἐς] τιν μὴ τῷ ταμείῳ ἡμῶν τὴν [παρα]χώ- ρησιν γενέσθαι κτλ.	34 35 32 28

3 εὐλογο[ν]. For this variant see 4435 5 n. Both the parallels have εὐδελόν ἐστὼ, with more or less certainty, see above and 4435 5 n.

4 καὶ (=εε). 3105 has εε after ἐλομένῳ, which now seems inevitable, see next note. 1405 seems not to have had εε at all, although Oliver, op. cit. p. 460, printed [ε' ἐλο]μένῳ.

5 ἐ[λο]μέν[ω]. This must be the intended word. Dr Rea writes: 'In 1405 I found some difficulty in recognizing ἐλο/μένῳ, mainly in the ending, see 3105 3 n., where I suggested that the ending was miswritten as -ου. This still seems a possibility, but now I am ready to accept omicron at the end of line 3, although alpha might also be a possibility, see 1204 25, with BL I 333, VII 136'.

δς ἀναλ]α[β]ών σου. 3105 omitted these words. The spacing makes it almost certain that εε was not repeated here before them and after ἐ[λο]μέν[ω], which is where it appears in 3105.

τὸ τμήμα σο[ν] τὸ πολιτικόν]. This phrase is guaranteed by 3105, being much damaged in 1405. No advance seems to have been made in the understanding of τμήμα since 3105 4 n., but Dr Rea now prefers to follow the second half of his note and translate 'will hold in readiness (the equivalent of) your civil property qualification'.

8-9 οὐδὲ ἢ ἐπιτι[μ]ία [σου βλαβήσε]ται. 1405 has ἢ δὲ ἐπιτεμῖα σου ἐκ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσεται, and 3105 agrees, except that it has σοῖ instead of σου.

10 [σου]. This deleted word does not occur in either of the parallels.

10-11 προετέθη η (ἔτους) Μεχειρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρεία). 3105 also has Mecheir; the month given in 1405 is Pharmuthi. A similar conflict of dates occurs between the doublets BGU I 267 (Tybi) and P. Strassb. I 22 (Pharmuthi). Oliver, op. cit. p. 448, explains the dates as being that of local publication, whatever that may mean, and of publication at Alexandria, although he sees that they are both given as for Alexandria. N. Lewis, *RIDA* 25 (1978) 272-3, n. 44, believes that in each case one of the dates must be mistaken. P. Strassb. 22 has a posthumous imperial formula, as here, and he therefore favours Tybi, the month given by BGU 267 which has a long imperial formula, over Pharmuthi. In our case 1405 of 236/7 is later than 3105 of 228-235, see introd. para. 2, while 4437 is datable only to the term of Leonides, 228 or 229 to 236/7, and we cannot say whether it is later or earlier than the others. There is the possibility that 1405 is the latest of the trio and open to the same argument, but more evidence is needed.

All the parallels have the date after προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία, but LII 3018 10, although fragmentary, seems to allow the possibility that the date could come first: π]ροετέθη πρὸ ἑπτὰ εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίῳ[ν], contrast line 5.

10 For Leonides see introd. para. 2.

12 Πετρωνι<ου>. Something has been omitted; Πετρωνι<ανού> is also possible.

15 Καλαμίνης. Καλαμίνη is known as a village name, see A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* iii. 1 p. 53, but new as a personal name. Although lambda seems a better reading of the third letter, it may be possible that it is a tau in view of the masculine name Καταμίννας, but this in turn is known only from XVI 1890 of AD 508.

15-16 On the office see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 44-5.

16-17 τῆς αὐτῆς Ταλαῶ τόπων. Talao is a well attested and therefore probably a large village of the Lower toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 193-4, which has been identified with Tala, see F. Gomaa *et al.*, *Beihefte des Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, Reihe B, Nr. 69, p. 90.

17 ἀντέχειν. Cf. 3105 19, but the wording is not otherwise parallel. Before ἀντέχειν it does not seem possible to read δύναμαι. μαι might be possible, but the trace before that is strangely high; the shape looks like the loop of rho, but the position suggests beta or xi and no letter seems perfectly suitable. After ἀντέχειν the traces look odd and cramped, but they might represent οὐχ ὡς.

U. WARTENBERG

4438. APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION OF A HOUSE

48 5B.25/G(3)a

14 × 26 cm

28 September-27 October 252(?)

The document is a copy of an application for the registration of a house, probably of AD 252. Two brothers inherited the house from their unnamed mother, who had bought it shortly before her death. The father of the brothers, who were presumably minors, sent the application on their behalf to the strategus, who was asked to instruct the keepers of the property register to make the appropriate entry.

Five points are of interest in this otherwise standard text:

1. With near certainty it dates Aurelius Agathus Daemon, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the year 252.

2. Line 5 provides an otherwise unattested short titlature for the emperor Decius, which seems to reflect his *damnatio memoriae*.

3. The text mentions several members of a well known family, one of whom was previously unknown.

4. The house is described by the unattested adjective *τριπυργιαία*.

5. This copy of the official document was made on the back of a piece cut from a roll containing a private wine account of about forty-five years (if not more) earlier.

The writing runs across the fibres and looks like a private copy of an official document, perhaps made before the original was sent to the strategus. The whole text, including the subscription, was written by a single writer, which confirms that this is not an original but a copy, a conclusion supported by the short form of the date clause at the foot.

The other side (4436) is written parallel with the fibres, and looks like the recto of the roll, although there is no sheet join to prove it. Wine from the produce of regnal years 15 and 16 is mentioned. To find such regnal years before the middle of the third century it is necessary to go back at least to the reign of Septimius Severus and his sons, that is to 206/7 and 207/8. Longlasting vintage wines being unknown in the papyri, the indication is that the copy of the application for registration was written on the verso about forty-five years (if not more) after the account was compiled. Cf. E. G. Turner, *JEA* 40 (1954) 102-6, who concluded that the secondary use of an official papyrus document usually occurred within twenty-five years of the first, although he produced examples of much longer intervals, cf. id. *BASP* 15 (1978) 163-9. LXIII 4356 is an example of secondary use at least twenty-two years after the first.

Αὐρηλίω Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμο[νι στ]ρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυγχείτου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίω Θέων[ος] τοῦ καὶ Κάστορος καὶ Διο<ς>-
 κουρίδου ἀμφοτέρων Ἀπολλοφάνους ἐξη(γητ-) βουλ(ευτοῦ)
 τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως. καθ' <ι>διόγραφον πρᾶσι
 5 τῷ (ἔτει) Μεσσίου Χοίακ ἠγόρασεν περιοῦ-
 σα{ν} ἢ μήτηρ ἡμῶν καὶ μετηλλαχυῖα
 ἐφ' ἡμεῖν μόνοις τοῖς δυὶ υἱοῖς κληρο-
 νόμοις παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Δι-
 ονυσοθέωνος γυμ(νασιάρχ-) βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς Ὁξυρυγχει-
 10 τῶν πόλεως υἱοῦ Σεπτιμ<ι>ου Ἐπιμάχου καὶ ὡς
 ἐχρημάτισεν εὐθηνιαρχήσαντος τῆ[ς] λαμ-
 προ[τ]άτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Δρόμου Γυμνασίου οἰκίαν
 15 τριπυργιαίαν καὶ αἶθριον, ὑφ' ἣν κατάγει[ο]ν,
 καὶ ἀλλὰς δύο καὶ τὰ τούτων χρηστήρια
 πάντα σὺν ἑτεροδοῖς καὶ ἐξόδοις, εὐδοκού-
 ρης τῆς τούτου δημογνησίας ἀδελφῆς
 Αὐρηλίας Κασιανῆς τῆς καὶ Ἡραΐδος, ὡς <ἦ>
 ιδιόγ[ρ]αφος πρᾶσι περιέχει, {τ}ῆς καὶ δη-

20 μοσιωθείας [[διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου]] ἐξ εὐδο-
 κήσεως τὸν ἀναπεμφέντα πρὸς τοὺς
 αὐτόθι τῶν ἐγκτήσεων βιβλιοφύλ(ακας) χρημα-
 τισμὸν ὑποκολλήσαντες ἐπὶ τῶνδε τῶν
 βιβλιδίων ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ βιβλίδια ἀξιούντες
 25 ἐπισταλῆναι τοῖς βιβλιοφύλ(αξι) τὴν δέουσαν
 παράθεσιν ποιήσασθαι ὡς πρόκειται τοῖς πα-
 ρ' αὐτοῖς διαστρώμασι ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς] ἡμῶν {α}ς
 ἀσφαλείας. (ἔτους) γ Φαῶφι. (vac.)
 Αὐρηλίος Θέων ὁ καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης
 30 δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλοφά-
 νους ἐπιδέδωκα.

1 στ]ρς; 1. Ὁξυρυγχείτου 3 ἐξηβου^λ 4 1. Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν; καθ' ἰδιόγραφον 1. κατ' ἰδιόγραφον
 5 L // 7 1. ἡμῶν 9 γυμ]βου^λ 9-10 1. Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν 16 ἑτεροδοῖς 19 ιδιόγ[ρ]αφος
 19-20 1. δημοσιωθείσης 22 1. ἐγκτήσεων; βιβλιοφύλ^λ 25 βιβλιοφύλ^λ 28 L γ// 29 1.
 Αὐρηλίου 31 1. ἐπιδεδώκαμεν

'To Aurelius Agathus Daemon, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Theon alias Castor and Aurelius Dioscurides, both sons of Apollophanes (former?) exegetes, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. By an autograph deed of sale dated in the 1st (?) year of Messius, in Choeac, our mother, who died leaving us her two sons as her only heirs, in her lifetime bought from Aurelius Sarapion alias Dionysiotheon, (former?) gymnasiarch, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, son of Septimius Epimachus and however he was styled, former eutheniarch of the most glorious city of the Alexandrians, a house in the Gymnasium Street district with three towers and a light-well, beneath which is a cellar, and two courtyards and all the fixtures of these with entrances and exits, with the consent of his sister by the same parents Aurelia Casiana alias Herais, as contained in the autograph deed of sale. Since this has been publicly registered by consent [[through the bureau of the archidicastes]], we subjoin to this application the certificate (of registration) which was sent up to the local registrars of property and we submit the application asking that instruction be sent to the registrars to make the proper annotation, as aforesaid, to the registers in their custody for the sake of our security. Year 3, Phaophi.

'We, Aurelius Theon alias Castor and (Aurelius) Dioscurides, through me the father Aurelius Apollophanes, submitted (the application).'

1 Aurelius Agathus Daemon is new and should be inserted in the list of G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* p. 100. P. Flor. I 83, assigned to the turn of the third and fourth centuries, is an undated proclamation of a strategus of the same name, cf. op. cit. 103. This item mentions a procurator

called Flavius Eudaemon, *uir egregius*, equally unknown. An attempt to identify him with a known Oxyrhynchite office holder of the late third century has been rightly rejected by A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 132 n. 6. It is possible that the *nomen* Flavius supports the dating offered in the edition and suggests that there were two strategi of this name, which is very common.

2-3 Neither the father nor either of the two sons is known from elsewhere.

4 καθ' <ι>διόγραφον πράτων (l. καθ' ιδιόγρ.). For errors of aspiration see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 135-6.

In this context *ιδιόγραφος* is a fiction, intended to bring the contract into the category of cheirographs, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri* ii 1-8 and n. 7. For the whole question see Wolff, op. cit. 106-113.

A list of contracts of sales of houses has been compiled by H. Maehler, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (edd. G. Grimm et al. = *Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 2) 128-134, with bibliography of earlier lists on 128 n. 36. A discussion of house-sales of the Roman period is given by J. Drath, *Untersuchungen zum Wohneigentum auf Grund der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* 34-48.

5 τῷ . (ἔτει) Μεccίου Χοείακ. Choecac is equivalent to 27 November-26 December. The year can only be 1 or 2, that is, the end of 249 or 250, see P. Oxy. LI p. 19, D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 112-14. The remains of the damaged figure might allow either alpha or beta. However, it may be argued that alpha is to be preferred, because by Choecac of year 2 Decius already had two colleagues, Herennius and Hostilianus, and it was usual to refer to them in a short form as the Decii, while Μεccίος is clearly singular. The earliest Egyptian date-clause of the reign of Decius is in fact of Choecac 1, year 1 = 27 November 249, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 112.

The key name of this emperor is Decius, whose fullest titlature is *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γάιος Μέccιος Κουνήτος Τραυανὸς Δέκιος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχεὴς Σεβαστός*. The suppression of the key name is the characteristic feature of Roman *damnatio memoriae*, whereby a decree of the senate ordered the deletion of the name from records and public monuments, see E. Van't Dack, *ANRW* II.1 875-6, id. *Romanitas-Christianitas. Untersuchungen ... J. Straub* (edd. G. Wirth et al.) 324-334, cf. Hist. Aug. XVIII.2 *hoc nomen [Antoninus] ex annalibus senatus auctoritate erasum est*, cf. XLIX 3475 29 and n. In the papyrus the name of Geta is the one most notoriously affected, because it was often struck out, see most lately P. Diog. 3.3-4 n., an interesting example, because although the name is struck out in this copy of the document, another copy, P. Diog. 4, simply leaves out Geta's titlature and refers to Caracalla alone.

In 4438 we may have a form of *damnatio* which attracts less notice, the suppression of the principal name in favour of one of the subordinate names, Messius instead of Decius. There is one other example for the reign, P. L. Bat. II (= P. Vindob. Bosw.) 3, a document of 277/8 which refers to a sale transacted, according to the first edition, ἐπι τοῦ [Τ]ί[τ]ου Μεccίου Φαρμοῦθι ζ' (15). Titus is not part of the titlature of Decius, see above: E. P. Wegener, working from the original, suggested therefore τοῦ [...] (ἔτους) [θ]εῖο Μεccίου (BL III p. 101). It is very likely and even necessary that the surviving trace should represent the sign for (ἔτους). After that restore probably the correct *praenomen*, hence ἐπι τοῦ [...] (ἔτους) [Γα]ίου Μεccίου, Φαρμοῦθι ζ'.

We know that Decius and his son Herennius were entitled *diui* in Rome immediately after their deaths, cf. for example CIL VI 3743 = 31130 = 36760 (25 June 251), but there is evidence in the papyri and on Alexandrian coins which suggests that Trebonianus Gallus did not confirm the title. J. F. Gilliam, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* i pp. 305-311, has convincingly shown that their names were deliberately left out in P. Dura 97 = R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* No. 83, cf. Gilliam *YCS* 11 (1950) 189-209 and that just their consular years 3 and 1 are mentioned. The papyrus, which comes from a military archive, has entries for dates from 10 August 245 to 31 August 251. The date for 8-14 May 251 is given as *III et I cos* (16), which is used another six times.

Gilliam argued on the ground of this papyrus and inscriptions with erasures of Decius' name that the *damnatio memoriae* must have been introduced by Gallus. This can be confirmed by the evidence of coins from Alexandria. H. Mattingly, *Num. Chron.* (ser. 6) 6 (1946) 36-46, observed that the deification of Decius and Herennius is not to be found on coins, which suggests that the deification in Rome was revoked so quickly that it did not get included in the official titlature on coins.

In succeeding reigns it seems that the *damnatio* of the Philippi was sometimes noted in the same way by suppression of the key name:

VIII 1119 (dated 16 August 253, 3 Gallus and Volusianus, Mesore 23):

22 (ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλίων, Ἀθὺρ λ (= 26 November 244)

24 (ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλίων, Μεχειρ γ (= 28 January 245)

28 (ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλίων, Φαρμοῦθι ιγ (= 8 April 245).

(Contrast, however, IX 1209 of Pharmuthi (March/April) of either 2 or 3 Gallus and Volusianus, 252 or 253, where the restoration of τῷ δ (ἔτει) [Φιλιππ]ων is still convincing. A photograph shows that there is clearly not room for Μάρκων Ἰουλίων at the beginning of line 12, and there is no other joint reign which could be suitable here. One might argue that since the memory of the Philippi was abolished by Decius, see below, Gallus, who abolished the Decii, might have reinstated the Philips briefly before the titlature was stabilized as Marci Iulii, but this may be too complicated. The varying practices of individual writers probably account for the inconsistencies.)

XL 2913 iii (dated January/February 269):

3-4 [... τῷ x (ἔτει) Μάρκων] Ἰουλίων (uncertain year of the Philippi)

SB VI 9298 (date unknown, but headed ἀντίγραφον):

21-22 (ἔτους) ζ' Μάρκων Ἰουλίων, Θῶθ ιη (= 15 September 249)

P. Grenf. II 69 (reign of Valerian and Gallienus):

16-17 ε' (ἔτους) Μάρκων Ἰουλίων, μηνὶ Ἀθὺρ (= 28 October-26 November 247).

For the erasure of the name of Philip in Egyptian temple inscriptions and its replacement by that of Decius see S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952) 118-121.

For those who do not accept that the use of these forms is connected with *damnatio memoriae*, ammunition is to be found in two mummy tickets which refer to the third year of Valerian and Gallienus as (ἔτους) γ' // Πουπλίων, see SB III 6007, B. Boyaval, *CRIPPEL* 3 (1975) 229-230, cf. J. R. Rea, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale de Papirologia* iii 1130, with plate on 1129. These are contemporary references early in the reign and cannot be explained by *damnatio*. The probable reason is that the very cramped format of the wooden tablets enforced the shortest possible titlature.

8-12 παρὰ Ἀβρηλίου Cαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Διονυσοθέου γυμνασιαρχ- βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς Ὀξυρυγγει/τῶν πόλεως υἱοῦ Σεπτίμου Ἐπιμάχου καὶ ὡς ἐξηρημάτισεν εὐθηναρχήσαντος τῆ[ε] λαμπρο[τ]ῆτος πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων. On this family see U. Wartenberg, *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology* (Cairo 1989: 1992) 15-22, cf. ead. *ZPE* 94 (1992) 128-134. An Oxyrhynchite Dionysiotheon who has appeared subsequently is datable to c. 183/4 and is likely to have been an older member of the same family, see PSI Congr. XXI 8.5 and n.

10 The use of υἱοῦ in this place conforms with the rule enunciated by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277-282, esp. 278: 'Es scheint sich eine Regel herauszustellen, die folgendermassen zu formulieren wäre: Wenn in Urkunden römischer Zeit bei der Personenbeschreibung die Filiation mit Hilfe des Wortes υἱός (bzw. θυγάτηρ, s. weiter unten) angegeben wird, dann bedeutet das: Der Vater des (oder der) Betreffenden hatte eine angesehene soziale Stellung inne, in der Regel, weil er ein municipales oder sonstiges Amt bekleidete oder bekleidet hatte'.

Although this is a well attested usage, worth bearing in mind, it is perhaps too dogmatic to call it a rule, see e.g. BGU XIII 2237.4-9 [π]αρὰ Τερενούφωος υἱοῦ Τερε[ε] / νούφωος πρεσβυτέρου ἐπικαλουμ[ένου] / Cεῖφανος καὶ Πακίσεως υἱοῦ / [Τ]ερενούφωος νεωτέρου ἐπικαλ[ο]υμένου / [Κ]ιαλ[η]τος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ κώμης / [C]οκνο(παίου) Νήσου, P. Mil. Vogl. I 28 iii 78 Ἀθὺρ κη - Ὀν[ν]ώφρι υἱῷ Ἀκάριος (ἀρτάβαϊ) δ, P. Brux. I 19.14 Πακίων υἱὸς Διοσκώ[ρο]υ δούλ(ου), O. Bodl. II 1709.2-3 μέτρησον Πλήγει υἱῷ Πούσιος ἀπὸ Τερο() πυροῦ κτλ., P. Berl. Frisk 3 (= SB V 7517).2 παρὰ Cτοτοήτ[ε]ως υἱοῦ C[α]τύρου Cτοτοήτ[ε]ως γεωργ(ου).

In P. Oslo III 144 there are numerous examples, e.g. 8-9 Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς [C]απαπᾶ / τοῦ βαφέως [], cf. 14, 19, 28, 30 (conforming with the rule), 34, 38, 39, 40. The editor commented on this as the 'characteristic feature of this list', with reference to E. Maysner, *Grammatik* II.2 p. 9, n. 3, 'Nicht selten wird, teils im Interesse der Klarheit, namentlich bei Häufung von Genitiven, teils in gehobenem, feierlichem Ton, das Kinderverhältnis durch υἱός und θυγάτηρ, sogar mit eigenem Relativsatz, ausgedrückt'. He then lists a number of examples to support his interpretation.

I cannot present a coherent interpretation of the use of θυγάτηρ and υἱός, but I would like to suggest that there was no strict pattern to cover all cases.

Perhaps the same caution should be applied to Hagedorn's rule, which he uses to correct a long series of passages: 'Ein Punkt sei *expressis verbis* hervorgehoben: Ich habe kein einziges Beispiel dafür gefunden, dass in Fällen, wo der Name des Sohnes in einem anderen Casus als dem Genitiv steht, ein voll ausgeschriebener Titel, der auf den durch das Wort υἱός eingeführt Namen des Vaters folgt, im Casus mit dem Namen des Sohnes übereinstimmt. Ich glaube dadurch hinreichend sicher nachgewiesen zu haben, dass die Titel in

derartigen Verbindungen immer auf den Vater zu beziehen sind, ...' (p. 279). So far I have found only one example which breaks this rule; P. Mich. XI 623, an official letter of the late second century (BL VII 115), is addressed 'Ἡρώδη υἱῷ Ἀπίωνος [τῷ] ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶ[ν] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως] τῷ φιλοτάτῳ χαίρειν. The editor, J. C. Shelton, describes the document as 'addressed to the official ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν of an Egyptian metropolis' (introd. p. 93). The content justifies his restoration of [τῷ], the crucial word for our purpose. The case may differ from the ones that Hagedorn had in mind, *γυμνασιαρχ-*, *ἐξηγητ-* etc., but this rule too may be a little too absolute and one should remember this when considering his emendations (pp. 280–282).

11–12 *εὐθηναρχήσαντος τῆ[ς] λαμπρο[τ]άτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων*. Cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services* 32–3, P. Diog. p. 113 5 n.

13–14 *οἰκίαν τριπυργίαν*. The house described appears to be a fairly large town house. Though *τριπυργία/-ιαία* as an adjective for a house had not occurred before in any other text, the *οἰκία διπυργία* is common, see most lately G. Husson, *OIKIA* 251–2, with bibliography. P. Strassb. II 110 of c. 180 BC, cf. P. Strasb. IX 803 introd., is a receipt for sales-tax on 'the 2nd storey of the 3rd tower and the associated courtyard, in which there are structures(?)', (τέλος) *πύργου γ' ἐτέργης β' καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐλήν* (l. τῆς προσοῦσης αὐλῆς), *εἰς ἣν οἰκήματα*. On the ambiguity of *οἰκήματα* see Husson pp. 183–6, but structures in the courtyard seem more likely to be meant in this context than rooms in the tower second storey. F. Preisigke, 'Die Begriffe ΠΥΡΓΟΣ und ΣΤΕΓΗ bei der Hausanlage', *Hermes* 54 (1919) 423–432, has already observed 'Nur hätten wir hier keine *οἰκία διπυργία*, sondern eine *οἰκία τριπυργία*'. Note, however, that no house is mentioned in the Strasbourg papyrus, and these might be independent towers of some kind. In spite of the fairly large bibliography the nature of towers associated with houses is not well understood. The suggestion that they indicate a degree of luxury, see Husson 252, citing M. Nowicka, *Archeologia Polona* 14 (1973) 175–8, would fit well with the status of the Alexandrian magistrate Septimius Epimachus, father of the sellers, and with that of the Oxyrhynchite exegetes Apollonophanes, father of the buyers.

14 *αἴθριον*. Cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* 29–36.

ὑφ' ἣν κατὰγει[ο]ν. Husson points out that the construction with *ὑφ' ἣν* is found only in papyri from Oxyrhynchus, see p. 132 n. 1 for examples. *ἣν* refers, of course, to *οἰκίαν* and not to *αἴθριον*. This slight awkwardness indicates how these stereotyped descriptions are put together from elements of standard terminology. The ground plan of the house in XXIV 2406 indicates a *θύρα καταγ(ε)ίου*, which implies that there were stairs leading to the cellar, cf. H. Maehler, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (edd. G. Grimm et al. = *Aegyptiaca Trierensia* 2) 136–7; Husson, *OIKIA* 45–54.

15 *καὶ ἀλλὰς δύο*. Cf. Husson, *OIKIA* 53.

χρηστήρια. Cf. Husson, *OIKIA* 291–3.

16 *ἑ ἰσόδοις καὶ ἐξόδοις*. Cf. Husson, *OIKIA* 65–72.

16–18 *εὐδοκούσης ... Κασιανῆς*. Cf. 20–21. The seller's sister had to give her consent. This was a measure of protection for her interest in the family property.

19–28 A private cheirograph could be given a higher authority by the process of *δημοσίωσις*, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 129–132. This was done by incorporation of the text of the agreement into the records of the Nanaeum and the Library of Hadrian in Alexandria, effected through the archidicastes, who was in charge of the bureau called the *καταλογεῖον*. A certificated record of the registration, called the (*δημόσιος*) *χρηματισμός*, was produced by the department of the *καταλογεῖον* called the *διαλογή* and directed to the keepers of the property registers in the nome capital. The applicants attached a copy of the *χρηματισμός* to their application and ask the strategus to instruct the keepers of the property registers to make the appropriate entry in their records.

20 [διὰ τοῦ καταλογεῖου]. Lines have been drawn so as to enclose the whole phrase. This should indicate that it is intended to be deleted, see LSJ s.v. *περιγράφω* III. In these contexts the *διαλογή* is sometimes mentioned instead, e.g. XLVII 3365 81, cf. 5, 82, but no substitution has been made here. According to Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 249–250 n. 127, the *διαλογή* was an office (*Geschäftsstelle*) within the *καταλογεῖον* which prepared the *χρηματισμοί*.

21–3 *τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα ... χρηματισμόν*. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 244–245 n. 102, takes this phrase as an indication that the transmission of the certificate of registration had to be undertaken by the applicants themselves.

21–2 *πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκτῆσεων βιβλιοφύλακας*. The purpose of the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐκτῆσεων* was to keep an up-to-date record of property, that is, real estate and slaves. It was organized by registers, *διαστρώματα*, in which each section (*ὄνομα*) had the name of the owner as a heading, see Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 226–7, 233–4.

26 *παράθεω*. See Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 238–245.

27–8 *ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς] ἡμῶν {αε} ἀσφαλείας*. This phrase does not appear in the parallel documents.

28 (*ἔτους*) *γ Φαώφι*. The original document, cf. 29–31 n., would no doubt have had a full date clause at this point.

Decius, cf. 5 n., did not have a third year. The next available third year is 3 Gallus and Volusianus, 252/3, and this is the most likely one. It is possible, but much less likely, that the application for registration might have been put off till 3 Valerian and Gallienus, 255/6, and hardly conceivable that it could have waited till 3 Claudius, 270/271.

29–31 The subscription is written in the same hand as the body of the text. This, like its appearance on the back of a used piece of papyrus, indicates that our document is not the original but a copy. Even if Apollonophanes had been illiterate, an amanuensis would have signed on his behalf, see H. C. Youtie, 'ὑπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201–222 = *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 179–199, so that the original would have had two different hands.

The drafting is awkward. For two people we would expect *Ἀδρήλιου* rather than *Ἀδρήλιος*, cf. 2 *Ἀδρηλίων*, and strict grammar would require a plural verb, *ἐπιδεδώκαμεν* instead of *ἐπιδέδωκα*.

U. WARTENBERG

4439. LOAN OF BARLEY

32 4B.7/M(3–4)c

8.5 × 23.5 cm

258/9

This contract of loan has an unusual arrangement of sentences, which in their wording and content are otherwise standard. The lender, Septimius Aurelius Eudaemon, is a well-known citizen of Oxyrhynchus, although in other evidence he is called simply Septimius Eudaemon: see 4–6 n.

In the lower right hand margin a few letters survive from the line beginnings of a second column, in the same hand, level with i 28–31. In all probability the second copy (cf. i 24) was written immediately to the right on the same sheet of papyrus.

The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank.

Col. i

Ἀδρήλιου Ὡρος Παήσιος μητρὸς
 Τεχώσιος καὶ Ἀσκληῶς Ἀπολλωνίου
 μητρὸς Τααφύγχιος ἀμφ[ό-]
 5 τερὸι ἀπὸ κώμης Σεπέπτα Σεπ[τι-]
 μίω Ἀδρηλίω Εὐδαίμογι· Ζερρήν[ου]
 γυμνασιάρχῳ βουλευτοῦ τῆς [Ἰ]Ἰξυ-
 ρυγχειτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν.
 ἀπέσχομεν παρὰ σοῦ κρη[ι]θῆς ἀ[ρτά-]
 10 βασ πέντε γενήματος τοῦ διε[λ-]
 θόντος ἔτο<υ>ς, ἄ<ς>περ ἀποδώσομεν
 σοὶ εὐν διαφόροις ἐκ τρίτου ἐντ[ὸς]
 τριακάδος Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνεστ<ώτ>ος
 5 (*ἔτους*) ἐφ' ἄλω τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
 Σεπέπτα νέαν καθαρὰν ἄδολον

15 ἄβωλον κεκοσκι[νευ]μένην καὶ
καλῶς πεπατημ[ένη]ν μέτρῳ
δεκάτῳ ᾧ καὶ παρ[ειλή]φαιμεν τῶ(ν)
παρὰ σοῦ μετροῦ[ντ]ῶν σὺν δι-
αφόροις. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀ[πο]δώσομέν
20 σοὶ ἐν τὸς τῆς [προκει]μένης
πρ[ο]θεσ[μίας, ἐκτείσομέν σοι μεθ' ἡ-
μιολίας [. . .][.]ντος
χρόνου. κύριον τὸ [χει]ρόγραφον
δικσὸν γραφὲν π[α]νταχῆ ἐπι-
25 φερόμενον καὶ πα[ντί] τῷ ὑπὲρ
σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι [γι]νομένης
σοὶ τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τε ἡμ[ῶν]
ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων [εἰς]
ἐκτείσω καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμ[ῶν]
30 αἴρη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ἡμῶν πάντων καὶ ἐπερω-
τηθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ ὠμολογή-
σαμεν. [(ἔτους) σ]// (vac.)
[Αὐτοκρατόρων Καίς] ἄρων
35 [Πουπλίου Δικινίου] Οὐαλερι[ανοῦ]
[καὶ Πουπλίου Δικινίου Οὐ]αλε[ριανοῦ]
[Γαλλιηνῶ Γερμανικῶν Μεγ]ίς[των]
[Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπ]λ[ίου]
[Δικινίου Κορνηλίου Καλω]ν[ίου]
40 [Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστ]ατ[ου]

Col. ii (opposite i 28-31)

. . .
ο . . .
τ . . .

5 l. Εὐδαίμων 6 l. βουλευτῆ 6-7 l. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν 12 παῦν 13 σς 17 τω-
19 l. ἀποδώσωμεν 25 ὑπερ 28 l. ἀλληλεγγύων 30 ὑπαρχόντων

'Aurelius Horus son of Paesis, his mother being Techosis, and Aurelius Asclas son of Apollonius, his mother being Taaphynchis, both from the village of Senepta, to Septimius Aurelius Eudaemon son of Serenus, gymnasiarch, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings.

'We received from you five artabas of barley of the crop of the past year which we shall return to you with interest at the rate of one third on or before the thirtieth of Payni of the present 6th year at the threshing floor of the same village of Senepta (in barley that is) new, clean, free of fraud and earth, sieved and well trodden, by the measure of one tenth (of an artaba) by which we also received them, your representatives measuring them, along with the interest. If we do not return (them) to you within the aforesaid term, we shall pay (them) out to you with an increase of one half plus interest(?) on the excess(?) time. The cheirograph, written in two copies, is binding to be presented in evidence in any place and for any person who presents it in evidence on your behalf, with the grant to you of the right of exaction both from us under mutual guarantee for payment and from whichever of us you may choose and from all our possessions, and on being asked the formal question by you we gave our assent.

'Year 6 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus, Germanici Maximi Pii Felices, and Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, *nobilissimus* [Caesar, Augusti, (month, day)].'

Col. i

4-6 Septimius Eudaemon is a well-known personality from Oxyrhynchus around the middle of the third century. His family has been briefly discussed by H. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 92 (cf. L 3596-7). LI 3612 concerns the same family, as may also XIV 1649.

The unusual form of his name here, Septimius Aurelius Eudaemon, is notable. His father's name, usually Septimius Serenus, is written as Aurelius Septimius Serenus in XLVII 3365 4 (=P. Coll. Yout. I 65). A parallel for the inverse combination is provided by the name of the Oxyrhynchite prytanis L. Septimius Aurelius Sarapion al. Apollinarius (VI 890).

19-20 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀ[πο]δώσομέν σοι. We expect the subjunctive, of course. For the form in the papyrus, corrected to ἀποδώσωμεν, as the subjunctive of the rare sigmatic aorist (form ἔδωσα) cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II pp. 386-7.

22-23 [κα]ὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου? Understand διάφορον before τοῦ? Cf. VII 1040 20-26 ἐ[άν] δὲ μὴ ἀποδώ καθὰ ἐγραψάμε[θα τὰ]ς προκειμένας τοῦ πυροῦ σὺν δι[αφό]ρῳ ἀρτάβας ἕξ, ταῦτα<ς> σοὶ ἐκτεί[σω] σοὶ μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ διάφορον [δ]ιάφορον τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου [ὁμοί]ως ἕξ ἡμιολίας.

Here in 1040 ταῦτα<ς> refers to the original loan amount (4 artabas) plus the usual 50% interest, to the total of which a 50% penalty surcharge is instantly to be added (making 9 artabas) for failing to meet the repayment date, plus further charges for the overtime. XLVII 3351 appears to attest a loan (of money) where the 50% penalty is levied on the sum loaned only, but the κεφάλαιον on which the 50% is levied may already include unspecified interest. In 4439, although strictly the object of the verbs in 19 and 21 should be the quantity meant by ἄ<ς>περ, 10, i.e. the original five artabas of the loan, probably what was meant was a 50% surcharge on the five artabas plus the one-third interest, a neat ten artabas, in effect 100% interest (plus the overtime charges). Cf. N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 139.

23 ff. κύριον τὸ [χει]ρόγραφον δικσὸν γραφὲν etc. The κυρία-clause occurs unexpectedly at this point, after

which the contract's normal clause of liabilities is added. Then comes the *stipulatio*, which normally follows the *κυρία*-clause. The regular order would be *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδώμεν ... ἐκτείομεν ... γυνομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως ... κυρία*-clause ... *stipulatio* ... date. In 4439 the *κυρία*-clause interrupts the actual contract.

31 The usual *καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης* is missing. Cf. the irregular clause order outlined in the preceding note.

33 The detached placing of the year number (indicated by the two diagonal strokes) is surprising. There is a red ink stain in the unwritten area that follows.

U. WARTENBERG

4440. LIST OF FISHERMEN

47 5B.47/B(1)a

25 × 31 cm

First century

This large sheet of papyrus has a single column with a list of *ιεροσαγηνῖται*, 'sacred net-fishermen', who work in the service of the temple of Athena Thoeis in Oxyrhynchus. The names are listed under districts of the city.

Seven districts are listed, and there are two men from each of four of them and one man from each of the three others. Most of the districts are well known, but two have been less well attested, *ρύμης Ὀννώφριος* (11) and *ἀναμφοδόρχων* (14). At present we can only speculate whether there is any connection between all the districts mentioned in the list and the actual locality of the Thoeion, and whether the fishermen were selected because they lived in a particular *ἄμφοδον* which was in the vicinity of the temple.

The context in which we should see this text is not entirely clear. Fishing could be an important factor in temple economies, and naturally the temple administration here would have had an interest in keeping a record of the fishermen employed; thus the list may have been written and kept in the temple office. However, a second possibility may be considered. Under Roman rule, the Egyptian temples came under tighter control than they had been in the Ptolemaic period. In BGU IV 1199 (4 BC) the prefect C. Turranius orders the registration of temple personnel, divided into three groups: *ιερείς* or priests of the first rank, *παστοφόροι* or priests of a lower rank, and *ἄλλοι*. The classification into these groups can be found in other documents: cf. H.-B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* 25–6. Fishermen would presumably belong to the third category. Surviving temple declarations are often called *γραφὴ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ* or similar; cf. XLIX 3473 introd., with a table of temple declarations and literature on the subject, in particular E. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 181–281. John Whitehorne has given a detailed analysis of other documents which show how the priests were required to submit a *λόγος* or *συντίμησις* of temple property and income to the state: *CE* 53 (1978) 321–8 and 54 (1979) 143–8, and *Journ. Rel. Hist.* 11 (1980) 218–26. So far, our evidence regarding temple declarations is not sufficient to allow a distinction between a *λόγος*, the annually submitted *γραφὴ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ*, and other terms such as *γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων*; cf. the list in 3473. However, 4440 could well be the sort of document from which such declarations could have been compiled.

There is a kollesis in the left margin, overlapping unusually right over left. The back is blank.

ἀναγραφὴ ἱεροσαγηνῶν Ἀθηνᾶς Θεοῆριδος
θεᾶς μεγίστης. Δρόμ(ου) Γυμνασί(ου).

Πλουτίων Ἰέρακος τοῦ Θέωνος
μητ(ρὸς) Σαραπούτος.

5 Ὀννώφρις ἀδελφὸς μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς).

Δρόμ(ου) Θεοῆριδος.

Ταρούλλας Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ταρούλλου
μητ(ρὸς) Σαραεῦτος.

10 Διονῦς[[ι]] Ἀμόιτος τοῦ Ταρούλλ[ου]

μητ(ρὸς) Θερμίτος.

ρύμης Ὀννώφριος.

Θεωνᾶς Πανσειρίωνος τοῦ

Θέωνος μητ(ρὸς) Θερμου[

ἀναμφοδόρχων.

15 Δίδυμος Θέωνος τοῦ Διδύμου(ου)

μητ(ρὸς) Ἡράτος.

Σαραπίων ἀδελ(φὸς) μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτῆς.

Κρητικ(οῦ).

20 Σαρᾶς Ἡρακλᾶτος τοῦ Σαρᾶτος μ[ητ(ρὸς)]

Σινθώνιος.

Παταλῖς ἀδελφὸς μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτ[ῆς].

Πλατείας.

Διονύσιος Διονυσίου(ου) τοῦ Διον(υσίου) μητ(ρὸς) [

Λυκίου(ν) Παρεμβολ(ῆς).

25 Δωρᾶς Σαραπάτος τοῦ Θέωνος μητ(ρὸς) Δημ[

1	1. ἱεροσαγηνῶν	2	δρο ^μ γυμνασι ^ο	3	ἰέρακος	4	μητ	5	μητ, αυτ	6	δρο ^μ
8	μητ	10	μητ	13	μητ	14	1. ἀναμφοδόρχων	15	διδυ ^μ	16	μητ
μητ	18	κρητι ^κ	21	μητ	23	διονυσι, διον ^μ μητ	24	λυκι ^ω παρεμβο ^λ	25	θεων ^ο μητ	

*List of sacred net-fishermen of Athena Thoeis, most great goddess. Quarter of the Gymnasium avenue: Plution son of Hierax, grandson of Theon, his mother being Sarapus. Onnophris his brother, his mother being the same.

Quarter of the avenue of Thoeiris:

Tarullas son of Ptolemaeus, grandson of Tarullas, his mother being Saraeus.

Dionys son of Amois, grandson of Tarullas, his mother being Thermis.

Quarter of the street of Onnophris:

Theonas son of Pausirion, grandson of Theon, his mother being Thermu-.

Anamphodarch-quarter:

Didymus son of Theon, grandson of Didymus, his mother being Heras.

Sarapion his brother, his mother being the same.

Cretan quarter:

Saras son of Heraclas, grandson of Saras, his mother being Sinthonis.

Patalis his brother, his mother being the same.

Quarter of the Square:

Dionysius son of Dionysius, grandson of Dionysius, his mother ...

Quarter of the Lycians' Camp:

Doras son of Sarapas, grandson of Theon, his mother being Dem-.

1 ἀναγραφή. See H. W. Kraus, *Αναγραφή und ἀναγράφειν im Ägypten der Ptolemäer und Römer* (diss. 1967). *ἱεροσαγνιτών* (l. *ἱεροσαγνιτών*). The word is new. It is composed of two parts, *ἱερο-* and *σαγνιτών*, the latter obviously derived from *σαγήνη*, a type of net. There are a number of occupation words based on the same root: *σαγηνευτήρ*, *σαγηνευτής*, *σαγηνεύς*, *σαγνηοβόλος*. Since *εν* does not change to *ι* but usually to *ε* or less frequently to *ου*, *εου*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I pp. 228–31, we might suspect that *σαγνιτών* derives from *σαγνήτης*, cf. L.R. Palmer, *Grammar* 111, although this word has so far not occurred in Greek literature or papyri.

1–2 These lines are written smaller and closer together than the rest of the text (the hand is the same).

Ἀθηνᾶς Θεήριδος θεᾶς μεγίστης. Oxyrhynchus was her main cult centre in the Roman period. See J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, B. Van Maele, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 217–32; G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* I 75; J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3080–82. She was worshipped together with Isis and Sarapis in the Thoeireion, one of the major sanctuaries of the city as the considerable number of priests and servants of this temple show. **4440** is the first reference for fishermen associated with the temple.

Special religious ties between Athena Thoeiris and fish could explain why the temple took on a group of fishermen. Evidence for such ties may be found in a Ptolemaic dedication to Thoeiris (provenance unknown; first shown in catalogue 8 (1990; p. 40, no. 42) of the Galerie Nefer, Zürich) published by E. Bernand, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 200–202 with Taf. IIIb. The inscription is dedicated to *Θοήρει θεᾷ μεγάλῃ* in honour of Ptolemy X Alexander I and his children, which dates it to 101–88 BC. Below the text two large fish are engraved; they can be identified as an oxyrhynchus and a lepidotus. It seems unlikely that their purpose was simply decorative. There is no reference to fish in the text, but above the heads of the fish two crowns are visible, usually worn by goddesses. An offering stand is placed between the fish (we owe this information to Dr. R. Parkinson). This dedication then may be evidence that there was a fish cult connected with Thoeiris, and **4440** would support this hypothesis.

7 Ταρούλλας Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ταρούλλου. The grandfather Ταρούλλου is very probably the same as in 9; note that in all other cases in which two fisherman are listed, they are brothers, and a family connection seems therefore likely. The incidence of so many related pairs might suggest that equipment was shared within a family.

The name Ταρούλλας is Thracian and occurs in a number of inscriptions ('Die alten Thraker' II.2, *SB Akad. Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 131 (1894), p. 37). It is also listed in P. M. Fraser–E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, s.v. Ταρούλλας with reference to IG XII (9) 1036 (Chalkis, third century BC); IG XII 863 and p. 177 (Eretria, Hellenistic).

There is no other reference to this name in papyri from the Roman period, but a few instances from Ptolemaic times have been noted. V. Velkov and A. Fol collected evidence for Thracian names in *Les Thraces en Égypte Gréco-Romaine* (*Studia Thracica* 4, 1977). In their catalogue Ταρούλλας, Ταρούλας, Ταρούλλας are listed: cf. no. 290 with 270 (second century BC), 294 (second century BC), 295 (first century BC).

10 Θερμίτος. The middle of the word is partly obscured by the warping of the papyrus.

11 ῥύμης Ὀννώφριος. This rarely-attested ἔμφοδος gains its name from a street name, itself named after a person. Cf. H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen* 33 offering only the rather uncertain parallel of ῥύμη[ης(?)]

Ἀ]κακίου, PSI I 75. The other references to the street of Onnophris are P. Mich. X 580, a notification of disappearance from 19/20 AD (6 ἐπι λαύρας ῥύμη[ης] Ὀννώφριος) and PSI IX 1034, a list of people and quarters from the second or third century (7 ῥύμης Ὀννώφριος); cf. J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit* 85.

14 ἀναμποδάρχων (l. ἀναμφοδάρχων). Cf. XVIII 2186.

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4441. REPORTS TO THE LOGISTES

70/25 bis +
70/54(d) +
97/211 +
97/229

Largest fr. (cols. i–iv) 51 × 26 cm

315, Jan.–Feb. 316

Grenfell and Hunt published part of a *τόμος συγκολλησίμος* of reports to the logistes or *curator civitatis* as I 53. The introduction mentioned three items, a report by some builders (never published) and attached to it a report from the guild of carpenters the text of which was presented as 53. Broken off from these was the third item, a doctor's report (not two doctors, as 53 introd.), which likewise was not published at the time. This third item appeared among the descriptions in vol. VI as 983. A later transcript by Hunt was then reprinted as SB III 6003.

This confusing history can now be taken a stage further. We have discovered the missing right-hand portion of 983 (see col. i 2 n.), allowing us to republish this now completed report as 4441 col. i. We are grateful to Dr Brian McGing for helping us to obtain a photograph of 983. Attached to those newly discovered line ends is another doctor's report (4441 col. ii) and attached to that is a report from the guild of various building trades, to whose declaration (col. iii) is appended the start of what was once a long list of repairs needed to various buildings (col. iv). Detached fragments supply portions of several further columns. Cols. v–viii continue the list of repairs needed that began in col. iv. Cols. i and iii (subscriptions apart) and iv–viii are all in the same hand. A further report from representatives of various building trades, in a different and very contorted hand, occupies cols. ix–x. The remaining columns, in another hand again, contain yet another builders' report. Both of these two last reports list building materials needed for specific repairs, rather than listing the repairs needed (cf. XXXI 2581).

For another *τόμος* associating doctors and builders cf. XLIV 3195 (331), and also VI 896. 896 belongs to 316, the same year as 4441, but a few weeks later. It and 53 and 4441 were all found in the same (1897) season of excavations. We may suspect that 896 belongs to the same *τόμος* as 53 and 4441, but the pattern of the item numbers and dates indicates otherwise: the item numbers should be lower as the dates fall later, not higher, cf. e.g. LX 4060. However, we may be wrong to insist on such precision in making up the *τόμος*.

The logistes Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius is well known. See P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, p. 223, for his first period of office (53 and 983 already recorded there);

the date of the *τόμος* falls comfortably in the middle of it. The date of **983** should be corrected to 22 February 316, see col. i 15 n. below.

Since the same scribe drafted texts for a doctor (col. i) and for builders (cols. iii–viii) he is likely to have worked in the logistes' bureau, cf. P. Oxy. LIV Appendix IV (p. 241). The same is likely to apply to the scribe of cols. ix–x, who would draft LIV **3746** four years later.

The doctors' reports (cols. i–ii) are of the usual grisly kind. Recently published but incomplete examples are LXIII **4366** and **4370**; note also LXI **4122**. The remainder of **4441** is more interesting, particularly the detailed list of repairs needed to various buildings. The topographical information contained here is especially valuable. The repairs needed were arranged (cols. iv–viii) under the headings Northern Stoa, Western Stoa, Eastern Stoa and Southern Stoa, in that order. Among the buildings mentioned we may note, under the heading of the Western Stoa, the surgery of Dioscorus (iv 8), possibly the public doctor who submits the report that forms col. ii here; a stable (iv 10); the school of the teacher Dionysius (iv 18–20); the temple of Fortune (v 4); the temple of Achilles (v 6); the record-office of the Western Stoa (v 8), in the vicinity of the quarter of the Small(?) Temgenuthis (v 8–9); a market (v 11); the *ἐξαγορεῖον* (v 13), and the house of Thonius, *μυθράριος* (v 21).

Under the heading of the Eastern Stoa, beginning from the north (v 23), we may note the house of (?)Demetrius (vi 2); the house of *x* and Sarapion (vi 4); the place of Athenodorus (vi 7); the place of Didymus, fruiterer (vi 9, cf. 10 for the occupation); the house of Euporion, former condiment seller (vi 11); the temple of Hadrian (vi 12); the 'Street of the warm baths of the public bath', opposite which there is 'the vetch-seller's shop of the Eastern(?) Stoa' where there is a beer-seller's shop (vi 14–15); the temple of Demeter and the temple of Dionysus, apparently close together (vi 17); and opposite them, perhaps the butcher's shop of Ammon (vi 18, cf. 19).

The section for the Southern Stoa began at vi 20, but the following column is lost; the bath mentioned in viii 2 must be in the same district.

The Northern Stoa must have begun the list at iv 2, see n., but there is only one entry, with a reference to a bedchamber (iv 3). This is surprising, in view of the extent of the other sections; perhaps the area of the Northern Stoa had had repairs on a previous occasion. It is listed at xiv 11 in a separate report.

Other topographical details, unlocated, in the remaining columns include an interesting reference (xii 15) to an imperial palace. It was not previously known that there was one at Oxyrhynchus. Cols ix–x appear all to relate to the repairs needed at a bath, also unlocated. The complex included what was probably a colonnaded gymnasium, x 21 with n. Note also various references to kilns or furnaces (x 22, 25, 31), involved in the production of the repair materials rather than themselves being in need of repair.

As regards the stoas themselves, C. Salvaterra usefully collects the earlier material in *Aeg.* 70 (1990) 20. Her own text (*ibid.* p. 16) attested the Western Stoa for the first time, subject to some uncertainty over the text's Oxyrhynchite provenance. The Eastern

and Southern Stoas are variously attested, but the Northern Stoa had not been mentioned by name until now. Given that **4441**'s list of repairs needed proceeds from the Eastern Stoa to the Southern Stoa (vi 7, 20), I think we may conclude that the references in **4441** are to formally named structures, not just to colonnades on one side or the other of some unnamed street, cf. the Hermopolite *παρ' ἐκάτερα νοτιῆς καὶ βορινῆς στοῶν*, SB X 10299.191–2.

The plan e.g. of the agora at Magnesia on the Maeander (J. J. Coulton, *Greek Architects at Work* 121) shows how a warren of small shops and workshops might be an integral part of a stoa, perhaps helpful in understanding some of the topographical details furnished by the new papyrus (cf. Salvaterra, *Aeg.* 70 (1990) 20). This theme is expanded by Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* 10–11.

The composition of the roll that I outlined is indicated by a combination of factors (hands, content, damage patterns), but above all by the column numbers that were added in the upper margin of the *τόμος* on its completion. These only survive intermittently, but we have a clear 106 above col. i and a clear 115 above col. x. Nevertheless, I must state my unease at my own reconstruction of the end of col. iv. There is a gap right down the centre of this column (with a kollesis at this point, so excluding any chance of fibre comparisons), and the reconstruction is not entirely satisfactory either for the line alignment or for the text; yet the tight framework imposed by the original column numbers allows very little latitude. The line-ends themselves are carried on two separate pieces: the ends from the column foot are on the same sheet as col. v, while the ends of the first thirteen lines are on a piece found separately but almost certainly to be physically attached to the upper part of col. v. Yet we then have an unexpected adjustment to the alignment of col. v's line beginnings, while on the back the vertical fibres at the top hardly resemble those at the foot.

The physical structure of the end of the roll (cols. viii ff.) is complicated. The pattern of damage allows us to reconstruct three layers of the roll, which had to have been rolled left to right. Several distinctive features in **4441** recur at an interval of c. 34–37 cm, which is to say that this was the approximate circumference of the roll at this point. The top layer is represented first by the fragment with the top margin and col. viii's line ends, which adjoin a broad blank area (blank, that is, except for an unexplained horizontal line) preceding a new document at col. ix. The bottom layer of the sandwich is col. x (the number 115 that heads it will not allow an intervening column, and also makes clear that these numbers head columns, not items), in two parts, one with the top margin and the other with the foot. The corresponding piece with the foot of col. viii has been lost. Directly interleaved between these was col. xii, again in two portions, with upper and lower margins respectively. To all appearances the lower piece adjoins the blank area preceding col. ix, but in fact it runs underneath that blank area and has become bonded to it. Revealed by the lacuna pattern, folds complicate the structure even further: in the blank area before col. ix, there was a fold back underneath to the left, reversing the roll's direction, but this was quickly negated

by a further fold forward, right down col. ix's line beginnings. The top and bottom of col. xii, as found, align well in terms of document content and fibres, that is to say they were found in the same relationship as they had in the intact roll. The same cannot be said for col. x, of which the line-ends and fibres are out of alignment when the two pieces are aligned as required by the damage pattern; and above all, how the later col. xii came to be interleaved between col. viii and col. x remains baffling.

Apart from the joins due to the construction of the τόμος (i.e. attaching col. i to col. ii and col. ii to col. iii, and preceding col. ix), manufacturer's joins (i.e. three-layer joins) occur in several places. 1) At the extreme left edge of the large piece with cols. i-iv, thus in the middle of col. i as transcribed; its presence caused the separation from 983, see above. 2) Rather less than halfway along the lines of col. ii. 3) Down the centre of col. iii. 4) Down the centre of col. iv, at the extreme right edge of the large piece with cols. i-iv. 5) Down the beginnings of lines of col. v. 6) Down the centre of col. vi. 7) At the ends of lines of col. viii. 8) Down the middle of what remains of col. ix. 9) Down the centre of col. xiv. The size of only one kollema can be established with certainty, that between (3) and (4), where the visible surface of the sheet measures 17 cm. The stretch between (5) and (6) measures approximately 34 cm, and covers two kollemata, a join being lost between the two pieces of papyrus that carry this section of the roll.

There is no writing on the back of any of the pieces, except for offsets on the back of the piece with the top of col. xii, derived from the piece with the top of col. x which was directly in contact with it, and probably still more offsets on the back of the latter piece.

Col. i

(m. 14)

ρς

(m. 1) [Οὐαλερίω] Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῶ καὶ Γεροντίω λ[ογισ]τ[ῆ]
᾽Οξυρυγχείτου

[παρὰ Ἀῤρηλίου] Σαραπίωνος Ἡροδότου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς)
καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) ᾽Οξ[υρυγχιτ]ῶν
πόλεως δημοσίου ἱατροῦ.

[ἐπεστάλην τῆ] χθὲς ἡμέρα, ἦτις ἦν Μεχειρ κς—, ἐκ βιβλιδίων
[ἐπιδοθέ]ντων σοι ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Νουνδιναρίου

5 [c. 9] traces of c. 18 letters ὥστε γενέσθαι ἐν ἐποικίῳ
αὐτοῦ Π[. . .]ειω καὶ ἐφιδὶν τὴν περὶ τοῦ πλη-
[γέντος? c. 6] . . . του καὶ [. . .] φύλακος Μουεῖτος διάθεσιν
καὶ ἐνγράφως σοι π[ρο]σφωνῆσαι. ὅθεν ἐν τῶ ἐποικίῳ γε-
[νόμενος] ἐφίδον τὸν αὐτὸν Μ[ο]υεῖν κλεινήρην ὄντα ἔχοντα
κατὰ μὲν τοῦ βρέγματος διαίρεσιν μετὰ ψιλώσεω

[τοῦ] ὀξτέρον καὶ κατὰ τῆς κορυφῆς τραύματα δύο μετὰ
ψιλώσεως τοῦ ὀς[τέ]ου καὶ κᾶ[τ]ωθεν τούτων τραύματα
[. . .] ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρους τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
ἀριστεροῦ κροτά[φου 5-6]
οἰδήματος καὶ κατὰ τῶν . . . [0-2]
10 [τοῦ] ἀριστεροῦ ὠτί[ου οἴ]δημα μετὰ πελιώματος καὶ κατὰ
τῆς δεξιᾶς ὠμο[πλάτης κα]ὶ τοῦ ὠμου
οἴδημα μετὰ πελιώματος
[καὶ κ]ατὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς χι[ρὸ]ς κατὰ τοῦ μεγίστου δακτύλων
πλήγμα μετ' οἰδ[ήματος] καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
βραχείωνος τῆς δεξιᾶς
χιρὸς οἴδημα μετ[ὰ] πελιώματος καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ
μηροῦ τρώ[σιω . . .] . [. . .] . ωσ καὶ τοῦ
γονατίου ἄνωθεν τρώσιω
καὶ ἐ[πι] τοῦ δεξιῦ μηροῦ τρώσιω δύο πέρασ εἰς
πέρασ [κ]αὶ κατὰ [πάσης τῆς] ἀριστερᾶς πλευρᾶς
τρώσιω· ὅθεν προσφονῶ.
(ἔτους) ις" [καὶ] ης" τ[ῶ]ν κυρίων . [. . .] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
καὶ Δ[ικινίου] υ[πάρχου] Σεβαστῶν, ἐπὶ ὑπατ[ε]ίας
15 Καικινίου Καβεῖ[νου] καὶ Οὐεττίου Ῥουφίνου τῶν
λαμπροτάτων, Μεχ[εῖρ κς]—.

(m. 2) Ἀῤρηλίου [Σαρα]πίων ἐπειδέδωκα προσφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται.

Col. ii

(m. 14)

ρξ

(m. 3) Οὐαλερίω Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῶ καὶ Γεροντίω
[λογ(ιστῆ)] ᾽Οξ(υρυγχείτου)
βουλευτῆ τῆς λαμ[(πράς)] καὶ [λαμ(προτάτης)]
᾽Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλε[ως] . . .
παρὰ Ἀῤρηλίου Διοσκόρου [Ἡ]ρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
5 πόλεως δημοσίου ἱ[ατρο]ῦ. ἐπεστάλην ὑπὸ σοῦ
ἐκ βιβλιδίων ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ὑπὸ Ἀῤρηλ[ίου]
᾽Ωρου ᾽Ωρου καταγεγραμ[μένου] ἐν ἐποικίῳ Ἡμιοβε-

λίτου περι κώμην Σερεκελεού Αὐρηλίου
 Θέωνος ἀπὸ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίων) [ὦστ]ε ξφιδεῖν τὸν ἐγγεγραμ-
 10 μένον τοῖς βιβλίδιοις ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίβιν
 καὶ ἦν ἐὰν καταλάβῃ διαθέσειν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγγρά-
 φως π[ροσ]φωνῆσαι. ὅθεν γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν
 δηλο[ύμε]νον ἐποίκιον Ἡμοβελίτου καλού-
 15 μενον [ἐπε]ῖδον τὸν Φίβιν κλεινήδην ἔχον-
 τα [. . .] [. . .] [. . .]
 κατὰ [τῆς ἀ]ριστερᾶ[ς] ὠμοπλάτης καὶ τοῦ
 ὤ[μου] c. 6 [] καὶ κατὰ τ[οῦ] βραχίονος καὶ
 [] c. 14 [] [] εως τῆς δεξιᾶς
 . [] c. 13 ὅθεν π[ροσ]φωνώ.
 20 [] c. 19 [] [. . .] [. . .]
 [. . .] [] c. 23 [] . . . [c. 5]
 Καικι[νίου] Καβίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου 'Ρουφίνου)
 τῶν [λαμπροτάτων, month and day.]

(m. 4) Αὐρή[λιος] Διόσκορος ἐπιδέδωκα προσφω[ν]ῶν ὡς πρόκειται.

Col. iii

(m. 14) [ρη]
 (m. 1) Οὐαλερίω Ἀμμωνι[ανῶ τῶ καὶ] Γεροντίω λογι[ς]τῆ
 'Οξυρυγχ(ίτου)
 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἐξῆς ταχθ[έντων] λα]ξολατόμων τε καὶ
 λαξῶν καὶ τε-
 κτόνων καὶ ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἐκᾶς[της τέ]χνης πρεσβυτέρων
 5 ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων. ἐπεστάλημ[εν ὑπὸ] τῆς σῆς ἐπιμελείας
 ὥστε
 τὰ κατὰ πάσαν τὴν πόλειν πάντα τα[ύ]τη διαφέροντα
 οἰκοδομήματα
 ξφιδεῖν, ἔτι μὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν τῆς ἀρχαιωτάτης πόλεως
 ὑποστέλλον-
 τα καταρραγέντα κατὰ βίαν καὶ [χρ]όνον πρὸς τὸ τὸ
 ἀσφαλεῖς ὑπαρ-

χθῆν[αι το]ῖ[ς] οἰκείους τῆς πόλ[ε]ως. ὅθεν περιελθόντες
 τέως τὰ πο-
 10 λιτικὰ ἔργα καὶ ἄλλα οἰκοδομῆ[ματ]α κακῶς ἔχοντα
 προσπαρακίμε-
 να δημοσίους ἔργοις ἅμα [5-6] . . . οἱς ἐνπίροις προσφωνοῦ-
 μεν τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένους τῶν οἰκείων τῆς δεούσης
 διορθώσεως.
 (ἔτους) ις" καὶ ης" τῶν κυρ[ίων] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντί[νου] καὶ Λικινίου
 Σεβαστῶν, ἐπὶ
 ὑπατείας Καικι[νίου] Καβίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου) 'Ρουφίνου τῶν
 λαμ[προτάτων], Τῦβι (vac.).
 15 (m. 5) Αὐρήλιος Μέλας οὐ καὶ Δημήτρι[ος] Θωνί[ου] υν-
 επιδεδώκα'μεν' π[ροσ]φωνῶν ὡ[ς] πρόκειται. ὁ αὐτὸς
 Δη[μήτριος]
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου μὴ ἰδότης ἄγραφα.
 (m. 6) Αὐρήλιος Χωοῦς
 Παισιρίωνος ἐπιδέδωκα προσφω[ν]ῶν ὡς πρόκειται.
 (m. 7) Αὐρήλιος

Ε [] ιος καὶ Θώνιος Διονυσίου καὶ Κακαῶν Ὠρου
 20 καὶ ιου καὶ Διόσκ[ο]ρος Σερήνου τέκτονες ἐπι-
 [δεδώκαμεν] προσφωνοῦ[ν]τες ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος
 Διδύμου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγίτου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ-
 [τῶν] παρόντων μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα.
 (m. 8) Αὐρήλιος Ἀφύγχις Ἡρακλή . . . λαξὸς ἐπιδέδωκα προσφωνῶν
 25 [ὡ]ς πρόκειται. (m. 9) Αὐρήλιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἡρακλέου
 λαξὸς ἐπιδέ-
 δωκα προσφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται. (m. 10) Αὐρήλιος
 λαξὸς ἐπιδέδωκα προσφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται.

Col. iv

(m. 14) [ρ]θ
 (m. 1) λ[] c. 16 βορινῆς στοᾶς καὶ ἀρχομένου ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου
 [] c. 32 [] καὶ ἀ κοιτῶνος τῦχος
 [] c. 32 [] οἰα οὐς δεόμενοι

- 5 (vac.?) [up to c. 26] (vac.)
 ἐπὶ δὲ [τῆς λιβικῆς στοᾶς? c. 9 δι]ορθωθῆναι οὕτως·
 κα[ὶ] ἀρχομένων ἀπ[ὸ up to c. 22] (vac.)
 4 πρὸς ἰατρῶν Διοσκόρου? c. 15 παλ[α]ιωθέντων καὶ δεομένων
 ἐτέρων ζπιρῶν. [
 δύο ἐνὸς μὲ[ν up to c. 20] (vac.)
 10 / καὶ πρὸς τῷ στάβλῳ [c. 20 π]άνοι ἀχρηστωθεῖς ἀνθ' οὗ
 ἴκος ὀφίλει γεγε[σθ]α[ι
 [c. 6].[up to c. 22] (vac.)
 [c. 38] τύχου δεόμενοι διο[ρθώσεω
 [c. 30 γε]γενῆσθαι δι(ἀ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐδ[αίμονος?
 / καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λιβικῆς στοᾶς] δ...[. .].
 15 ταύτης λίθων ὥστε οἰκία Ἡρακλ[
 λίθους τοῦ τύχου πεπα[λαιωμεν-?
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἰσίδος δισθαι διορθ[ώσεω
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλίῳ γραμματοδιδασκάλου [c. 35]ν
 δηλοῦμεν ἀχρήστους γεγενῆ[σθαι c. 34 δι]ᾶ
 20 Διονυσίου γραμματοδιδασ[κάλου.
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῷ τύχου τοῦ προσπαρὰ κίμενου [c. 28]... τύχον
 διορθώσεω διὰ τὸ τ.[c. 25 ?γεγε]νῆσθαι
 δι(ἀ) Θαήσιος λαχανοπώλ[ου.

Col. v

- ἐπ[ὶ]
 .[c. 22]..[c. 14]..[up to c. 47]
 δι...δ[c. 12]το.[up to c. 42]
 4 [καὶ π]ρὸς τῷ Τυχ[ε]ί[ω].[c. 4].[c. 7]ντο.[c. 36 πεπ]α-
 λαιῶσθαι δι[. .].[c. 5]σιον.[up to c. 37]
 5 καὶ [π]ρὸς τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖω πρὸς τῷ ...[c. 4].ρι...[?ὀ]μαλῆς
 / οὗ ὁ ἴκος ὀφίλει ὑ[πο]βλ[η]θῆ[ναι] (vac.)
 / καὶ πρὸς τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς αὐτῆς λιβικῆς [c]τοᾶς [c. 31
 ?Μικρ]ᾶς
 Τεγμενοῦθεωσ τόποι δεόμενοι δ[ιο]ρ[θώσεω c. 31]
 10 Φιλονίκου καὶ Ἡλιοδώ[ρ]ου καὶ Ἀμμω[ν- up to c. 40]

- / καὶ πρὸς τῷ μακέλλῳ στύλοι [ἐ]ξ πάνοι παλα[ι]ω[θέντες c. 25
]...[
 τῶν λοιπῶν [στύ]λων τριῶν...[up to c. 30]
 κ[αὶ] πρὸς τῷ ἐξαγορίῳ ἔνγιστα τοῦ ἐκίσε πλ...[c. 28
 δ]ε[σ]ο[με]ροι
 ὑπογραφῆς ὑπογυῖου δι...[c. 28]..
 15 [καὶ] πρὸς τῷ τόπῳ ἐγγυὲς τῆς[. .].[c. 26
]. παλα[ι]ω[θέν?]
 [δ]εόμενον ἐπι[κ]κευῆ[ς] δι[. .].[c. 4]εξ[α]...[. .].
 4 καὶ ἀντικρῶ ἱεροῦ ..ρ...[c. 6]..[. .].α.ο.εσα...[c. 15
]ου δεόμενοι
 ἐπισκευῆς δι[α] Μ[ε]λανος χιριστοῦ.
 4 καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τόποις ἐκίνοισ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτέρας φλει[ᾶς c. 17
]ων λεανθὲν
 20 οὗ ὁ ἴκος δεξίται ὑποβληθῆναι διὰ Ἡρακλήους χιρ[ιστοῦ
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ Θωνίου μιθραρίου τόπος εἰς τοὺς [c. 15
 δεόμενος] ἐπισκευῆς
 διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θωνίου.
 ἀπηλιωτικῆς στοᾶς καὶ ἀρχομένων ἀπὸ βορρᾶ [

Col. vi

- 4 ...[. .].[c. 19]..[
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ Δ[ημη]τρίου? c. 5]...[. .].[. .].[6-7]...[
 δι[α] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ?Δημ]ητ[ρ]ί[ο]υ.
 4 δηλοῦμεν δὲ τυχ[ον Διογένους] καὶ Καραπίωνος [οἰκία]ς ἐκ
 βορ[ρᾶ
 5 ἐπικίμενον [c. 4].. πάνοι πα[λαι]ωθέντα τ[ε] καὶ
 πτώσι[ν] [7-8]...[
 ἐπιτ[η] [c. 6] δι[α] τῶν [α]ντων Διογ[έ]ρους καὶ
 Καραπίωνος.
 [] καὶ πρὸς τῷ [.]εχ...ω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπηλιωτικῆς στοᾶς πρὸς
 τῷ τ[όπ]ῳ Ἀθηνόδωρ[ου
 [c. 15] (vac.)
 4 καὶ δ...[. .].[c. 7 π]ρὸς τῷ τόπῳ Διδύμω τόποι τῆς στοᾶς
 δεόμενοι ἐπι[κ]κευῆς

10 δ[ια] Διδύμου ὀπωρ[ο]πώλου καὶ Ζακαῶνος πλακουντᾶ.
 [] . [c. 6] α . [c. 4] γ πρὸς [.] . [c. 5] γην π[ρὸς δ] ἐ τῆ οἰκία
 Εὐπορίωνός ποτε ἀρτυμ[ατοπώλου
 [c. 4] . [c. 5] . [c. 8] πόλεως καὶ τ[ο]ῦ Ἀδριανίου
 πάντοι παλαιωθεῖσαι κα[ὶ] δεόμεναι
 καὶ ἐρίσεως δι(ἀ) τ[ο]ῦ αὐτοῦ] Εὐπορ[ί]ωνος.
 4 καὶ ἀντικρὺ ῥύμης θερμῶν δ[ημο]σίου βαλανίου πρὸς τῷ ἐκίσε
 ὀρβιοπωλεῖ[ο]υ τῆς [αὐτῆς ἀπηλιωτικῆς?]
 15 στοᾶς πρὸς τῷ ἐκίσε ζυτοπωλίου [c] τῦχος ὑπὸ τὴν
 στοὰν δεόμεν[ο]ς
 δι(ἀ) Δουλίου ὀρβιοπώλου.
 4 καὶ ἀντικρὺ ἱεροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ Διονυσίου τῦχος
 τῆς στοᾶς [?] πο . ε . . [.]
 Ἄμμωνος π[ά]νοι παλαιωθεῖς καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ἔχων
 δεσ[μ]ενος
 διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἄμμωνος μαγίρου.
 20 νοτίνης στ[οᾶ]ς

(Col. vii lost)

Col. viii

δεόμ[ε]ν[ο]ι ὑποραφῆς [.]
] ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὸ βαλα-
 δ]εόμενοι διορθώσεως
] (vac.)
]ης
 5]ος πολιτικοῦ δημοσίου
 πη]χῶν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ
] (vac.)
]ντα δέκα [. . . .] ()
 10] . οντα [. . .] . ἔκ μή-
 [κουσ] (vac.)
] . . . ου[.]

Col. ix

(m. 11) ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κ[ωνσταντίνου καὶ Δικινίου]
 Σεβαστῶν [τὸ δ'.]
 Οὐαλερίω Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῷ κ[αὶ Γεροντίω λογιστῇ
 Ὁξυρυγίτου]
 παρὰ Ἀδρηλίων Ἀχι[λ]λέως καὶ Π [.] μνην-]
 5 αρχῶν οἰκοδ[όμ]ων καὶ Cιλβανοῦ . . ρ . . [.] ? Πολυ-]
 δεύκης καὶ Cιλβανοῦ Cαραπ . [.] Ἡρα-]
 κλείδου μολυβουργῶν κα[ὶ]]
 Νειλάμμωνος ὑαλο[υ]ργῶν]
 κληδουργοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλείδ[ου]]
 10 Θ[έ]ωνος κονιατῶν τῶν [πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ
 λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυχειτῶν) πόλ(εως).]
 ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι . . . ρο . [.]]
 χως χρηματίζοντες [.]]
 νου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[ε]ω[ς]]
 μνοι ὁμολογοῦμεν [ὁμνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον]
 15 θιον ὄρκον τῶν δε[σ]ποτῶ[ν] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ]
 Δικινίου Ἀδοκ[ρα]τόρων [.] τὰ]
 ἐξῆς ἐν[γεγρα]μμένα [.] ἐπι-]
 σκευὴν α . [. .] . ἐπὶ το . [.]]
 φωνου . [. . μ]ηθενό[ς]]
 20 μεν τῶν [.]]
 πλην δ . [.]]
 κλω . [.]]
 κεραμί[δ]ες ὀ[στρά]κινες [.]]
 ὀπτῆς πλίνθ[ου] (vac.) [.]]
 25 οἰκοδῶμοι (m. 12) οἱ ἐνχρη[σ]τοντες [.]]
 25a ἐργάται ὁμοίως οἱ ἐ[γ]χρη[σ]τοντες [.]]
 (m. 11) ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ μολιβου[ργοί]]
 χαλκίων καὶ σωλή[νων]]
 ἐπὶ χριῶν τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ] βαλανείου? ?μολύβδου ὀλ-]
 κῆς κεν(τηνάρια) κ' ὡς [τοῦ κεντηναρίου α

Col. x

(m. 14)

(m. 11)

5

10

15

20

25

30

(One column lost?)

ριε

] . [.] ην χρήσειν δλκῆς

] (vac.) ξξ

] . [.] λ'

] ἐνχρήζοντα καὶ

] ια κανουργίας

] . βαλανίου οἰεν[.] .

] (vac.) . [.] .

] . ςκαβ'δ

] . [c. 4] . υιν του[5-6] ο
traces?

] . . ιακ[4-5] . . [

] . ο . λα . [4-5] . . . [

] . [

] . [

]

] . .

]

] α (ἡμισυ)

δ] λκῆς [κεντη]γαρίου α (ἡμισυ)

] . λων καὶ ξυστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλ-

[λων ?ἐπὶ τὸ] αὐτὸ καμίνων μ

] κεντηνάρια ἰζ' ὁμοῦ κεν(τηνάρια) χπ

] . . πρὸς τὴν τῆς κονίας ἐψίαν . η

?ἐκάστο]υ καμίνου ἐκ μουτίων πεν-

[τήκοντα? ?μο]ύια Ζ

] βαλανίου εἴκρια, γίνονται

]

]

?ἐ]κ κοπριακῶν κοπριῶν ν σ

?ἐκ]άστου καμίνου ἐκ μουτίων

]

ρ

Col. xii

(m. 13) [Οὐαλερίω] Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῶ καὶ Γε[ροντίω λογιστῆ]

'Οξυρυγχίτου]

[παρὰ τοῦ κο]ινοῦ τῶν τε λαξολατόμων κ[αὶ οἰκοδόμων]

[καὶ τεκτόνων]ν τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)

'Οξυρυγχι[τῶν πόλεως ?διὰ τῶν]

[?ἐκάστης] ἐργασίας ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων . [

5 [c. 5 το]ῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγουμένου Αἰγύπτου Ἡρ[κουλίας
Αἰρηλίου]

[Ἀντωνί]ου ὥστε με[τ]ὰ ἀκριβίας πάσης ε [

[c. 6] . των δημ[οσί]ων οἰκοδομημάτων . [.] . [

[c. 6] α ἀρχη . [. . . .] τα τ . νο . . . [

[c. 5] . [. .] . [c. 7] . . ἀκριβ [

10 [c. 16] . . . ρα[

(One line lost?)

] . [

] νει[

] . . . [.] ξρων . [

15 [ἰερο]ῦ παλατίου (vac.) [

εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ἤτοι ὑπηρες[ίαν τ]ῶν δε[ομένων τόπων?]

γείγνοιτο [

ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ λαξολατομοὶ λίθ[ο]ι ἐκ μή[κο]υς πήχου<ς> ἐν[ός]

ὑψους δακτύλων ἰ ἀριθμ[

20 ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ οἰκοδόμοι ὠμῆ[ς] πλίν[θου]

Col. xiii

] . .

]

]

] . ρεῖα

5

]

] υ

].ς

]

Col. xiv

.
] . [2-3] . [. .] κ' βᾶ [θους? . . .]
 [ἡμ]εῖς δὲ οἱ οἰκοδόμοι [
 εἰς κατάστροφωσιν στοῶς . . . [c. 4] . . . [
 καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ τέκτονες [c. 5] . [
 5 δοκίδες ξενικαὶ ε . . . [. . .] . υγ' πλάτ[ουσ
 πάχους δακτύλ[ων
 φοινικίνας δοκοῦς [
 ἐκ μήκους πηχ[ῶν
 10 ἐρίσματα ξενικὰ εἰς . . . [c. 5] [
 ἐκ μήκους πηχ[ῶν c. 3] . ο . . . δ[
 καὶ εἰς βορρηνὴν στοῶν [. . .] . [. . .] . [

Col. i

3 λαμς", λαμς", ιατρον 4 l. βιβλιδίων 5 l. ἐπιδεῖν 6 l. ἐγγράφωσ 7 l. ἐπεῖδον,
 κληήρη; υ of διαίρεσιν corr. from c 11 l. χειρός, βραχίονοσ 12 l. χειρός; υ of second τράσιν corr.
 from c 13 l. τρώσεισ, προσφωνῶ. π of first πέρασ apparently altered to τ 14 L 15 ουετ'τιου
 16 l. ἐπιδέδωκα

Col. ii

2 οξ"? 9 βφ; l. ἐπιδεῖν 9-10 l. ἐγγεγραμμένον 11-12 l. ἐγγράφωσ 14 l. κληήρη

Col. iii

2 Upper right arm of χ extended 6 l. πόλιν 7 l. ἀρχαιοτάτης 8 l. ἀσφαλές; ὕπαρ
 9 l. οἰκίαισ? 10-11 l. προσπαρακεῖμενα 11 l. ἐμπείροισ 12 l. ἐγγεγραμμένονσ, δείσθαι
 13 L 14 λαμς" 16 'μεν' in different hand? l. προσφωνοῦντεσ, πρόκειται 17 ὕπερ,
 ἰδοτοσ'γράματα"; l. εἰδοτοσ γράμματα 26 l. προσφωνῶν 27 επ[ε]ιδέδωκα? l. ἐπιδέδωκα
 προσφωνῶν, πρόκειται

Col. iv

3 l. τοῖχοσ 8 ιατριω; l. ιατρείω, σπειρῶν 10 l. πάνν; ἴκοσ; l. ὀφείλει 12 l. τοῖχοσ
 13 δι', α- 14 α- 16 l. τοῖχοσ 17 l. δείσθαι 18 l. διδασκαλείω 21 l. τοῖχω,
 προσπαρακεμένον, τοῖχοσ 23 δι'

Col. v

5 α corr. from ε? 6 l. ὀμαλείσ? 9 τεγ'μενουθεωσ? 11 l. πάνν 13 l. ἐξαγορείω
 ἔγγιστα, ἐκέεισ 14 l. ὑπορραφῆσ 18 l. χειριστοῦ 19 l. ἐκεῖνοισ. Possibly]υνων 20 l.
 δείται, χειριστοῦ 21 l. μιτραρίου

Col. vi

4 l. τοῖχοσ 5 l. ἐπικείμενον, πάνν 9 l. Διδύμου 10 First π of δπωροπόλου corr.?
 12 l. Ἀδριανείου πάνν 13 l. ἐρείσειωσ; δι? 14 l. βαλανείου, ὀρβισπωλείου 15 χ of τῦχοσ
 corr. from λ. l. τοῖχοσ 16 δι' 17 ἱεροσ (first example only). l. Δημητρείου, Διονυσειου τοῖχοσ
 18 l. πάνν 19 l. μαγείρου

Col. viii

1 l. ὑπορραφῆσ 2 l. τδ? 9] -

Col. ix

6 l. -δεύκοσ 7 γ of μολυβουργῶν corr. 8 ὕαλουργων 14 First ο of ὀμολογοῦμεν
 much enlarged 15 l. θεῖον 17 l. ἐγγεγραμμένα 17-18 κ of ἐπισκευῆν a correction
 23 l. ὀστράκιναι 25 l. οἰκοδόμοι, ἐγχρηζοντεσ 26 η corr. from υ 28 Accidental ink
 between ι and χ. l. χρεῖων 29 κεν'

Col. x

2 l. χρῆσιν 4 λ': possibly α' 5 l. ἐγχρηζοντα 6 l. καιουργίαισ 7 init.] . ι or
]υ. l. βαλανείου 19, 20 ας' 22 μ at end rewritten 23 κεν' 25 μουῖων; l. μωῖων
 26 μουῖα; l. μωῖα 27 l. βαλανείου ἴκρια, γίνουτο. γίνουτο partly rewritten 30 Numeral ν rewritten
 31 μουῖων; l. μωῖων

Col. xii

3 λαμς, λαμς 6 l. ἀκριβείαισ 8]τα: alpha has terminal form 9 Space before alpha
 17 l. γίνουτο 19 ὕφουσ

Col. xiv

5 υγ: horizontal extended to represent υγ' 9 l. ἐρείσματα 11 Last trace a finishing stroke?

(Col. i)

(14th hand) '106.'

(1st hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Sarapion, son of Herodotus, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, public doctor. I was instructed yesterday, which was Mecheir 26th, as a consequence of a petition presented to you by Valerius Nundinarius ... to be in his farmstead of ... and inspect the condition of the beaten-up ... guard Muis and give you a written declaration. Wherefore, being in the farmstead, I inspected the said Muis who was confined to bed with a cut on the front part of the head, with the bone laid bare, and with two wounds on the crown with the bone laid bare, and below these wounds ... on the right part of the head and on the left temple ... swelling, and a swelling with bruising on the ... of the left ear, and a swelling with bruising on the right shoulder-blade and the shoulder, and a blow with swelling on the biggest finger of the right hand, and swelling with bruising on the wrist of the right hand, and a wound on the left thigh ... and a wound above the knee, and two wounds on the right thigh from end to end and a wound down all the left side; wherefore I make

this declaration. Year 10 and 8 of our ... lords Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, in the consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, *virī clarissimi*, Mecheir 27th.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Sarapion, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.'

(Col. ii)

(14th hand) '107.'

(3rd hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, councillor of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites ..., from Aurelius Dioscorus son of Heron from the same city, public doctor. As a result of a petition presented to you by Aurelius Horus son of Horus, residing in the farmstead of Hemiobelitu near the village of Senecelēu, ... Aurelius Theon *ex-beneficiarius*, I was instructed by you to inspect his brother Phibis, named in the petition, and whatever condition I found him in to declare it in writing. Wherefore, going to the indicated farmstead called Hemiobelitu, I inspected Phibis who was confined to bed with a cut ... his head and on his left shoulder-blade and shoulder ... and on his forearm and ... his right ... wherefore I make this declaration. ... (in the consulship of) Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, *virī clarissimi*, [month and day.]'

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Dioscorus, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.'

(Col. iii)

(14th hand) '108.'

(1st hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the following listed masons and stone-cutters and carpenters and others and the elders of each craft, through the persons signing below. We were instructed by Your Diligence to inspect all the buildings throughout the city belonging to it, as well as any other structures in the most ancient city that are broken down from hard usage and time, in the interests of the security of the properties(?) of the city. Wherefore in the meantime having gone round the civic works and other buildings in a poor state adjacent to public works, together with ... experts, we declare that the following listed places require the necessary restoration. Year 10 and 8 of our lords Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, in the consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, *virī clarissimi*, Tybi (vac).'

(5th hand) 'We, Aurelii Melas son of *x* and Demetrius son of Thonius, presented this jointly, declaring as aforesaid. I, the same Demetrius, wrote on behalf of the other one because he is illiterate.' (6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Chōous son of Pausirion, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.' (7th hand) 'We, Aurelii *x* son of *x* and Thonius son of Dionysius and Sacaon son of Horus and *x* son of *x* and Dioscorus son of Serenus, carpenters, presented this, declaring as aforesaid. I, Aurelius *x* son of Didymus, from the Oxyrhynchite, wrote on their behalf in their presence, because they are illiterate.' (8th hand) 'I, Aurelius Aphynchis son of Heracles, stone-cutter, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.' (9th hand) 'I, Aurelius Artemidorus son of Heracles, stone-cutter, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.' (10th hand) 'I, Aurelius *x* son of *x*, stone-cutter, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.'

(Col. iv)

(14th hand) '109.'

(1st hand) '... Northern Stoa: beginning from the east:

'... the bedchamber of ... and ..., a wall ... requiring ...

'And in the Western Stoa ... to be restored as follows:

'And beginning from ...

'At the surgery of Dioscorus, ... antiquated and requiring twelve(?) replacement bases, one of them ...

'And at the stable ... rendered very unserviceable, in place of which a copy should be installed ...

'... of a wall, requiring restoration ... through the same Eudaemon(?) ...

'And in the same Western Stoa ... stones of this for(?) (the) house of Heracl- ... stones of the wall, antiquated ... the same arch(?) to need restoration ...

'And at the school of the schoolmaster ... we declare they have become unusable ... through Dionysius, schoolmaster.

'And at the wall of the adjacent ... a wall ... restoration because ... through Thaesis, vegetable-seller.'

(Col. v 4 ff.)

'And at the temple of Fortune ... to have become antiquated ...

'And at the temple of Achilles at the ... level, of which the equivalent should be substituted.

'And at the record-office of the same Western Stoa ... Small(?) Temgenuthis, places needing restoration ... through(?) Philonicus and Heliodorus and Ammon-

'And at the market, six columns, very antiquated ... the remaining three columns ...

'And at the proclamation hall very near the ... there ... requiring immediate patching through ...

'And at the place near the ... antiquated ... requiring repair through ...

'And opposite the temple of ... requiring repair through Melas, merchant.

'And at those places on the upper lintel ... worn smooth, of which the equivalent needs to be substituted through Heracles, merchant.

'And at the house of Thonius, *mitrarius*, a place ... requiring repair through the same Thonius.

'Eastern Stoa: beginning from the north []'

(Col. vi 2 ff.)

'And at the house of Demetrius(?) ... through the same Demetrius(?).

'And we declare that a wall of the house of Diogenes and Sarapion, on the north ... abutting ... very antiquated and ... fall ... through the same Diogenes and Sarapion.

'And at the ... of the same Eastern Stoa, at the place of Athenodorus ...

'And ... at the place of Didymus, places of the stoa requiring repair through Didymus, fruiterer, and Zacaon, pastry-cook.

'... and at the house of Euporion, former condiment-seller ... city and the temple of Hadrian, very antiquated and requiring ... and propping up through the same Euporion.

'And opposite the street of the warm baths of the public bath, at the vetch-seller's shop there in the same Eastern Stoa, at the beer-seller's shop there, a wall below the stoa requiring ... through Dulus, vetch-seller.

'And opposite the sacred temple of Demeter and the sacred temple of Dionysus, a wall of the Stoa ... Ammon, very antiquated and in a dangerous condition, requiring ... through the same Ammon, butcher.

'Southern Stoa:'

(One column lost)

(Col. viii)

'... requiring patching ... for the same bath(?) ... requiring restoration ... civic public ... twenty seven cubits ... ten ... at a length of ...'

(Col. ix)

(11th hand) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus and Licinius Augusti for the 4th time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelii Achilles and P- ... monthly presidents, builders, and Silvanus son of *x* and [*x* son of ?Poly]deuces and Silvanus son of Sarap- [and *x* son of Hera]clides, lead-workers, and [*x* son of *x* and *x* son of] Nilammon, glass-workers, [and *x* son of *x*], locksmith, and Heraclides [son of *x* and *x* son of] Theon, plasterers, all from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites. On your requesting ... the said city ... we acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath of our masters Constantinus and Licinius Imperatores ... clay roof tiles ... baked brick ... builders.' (Inserted, 12th hand) 'The necessary ...; workmen likewise, the necessary ...' (Continued, 11th hand) 'And we the lead-workers ... basins and pipes ... for the needs of the same ?bath ... ?lead, in weight 20 hundredweight, per hundredweight ...'

(Col. x)

(14th hand) '115.'

(11th hand) '... use, by weight ... 960(?).

'... necessary and ... renewal ... bath ...'

(Lines 20 ff.) '... by weight 1½ hundredweight.

'... and a colonnaded gymnasium and the other ... in total 40 kilns.

'... 17 hundredweight, together 680 hundredweight.

'... for the burning(?) to produce the lime ... each(?) kiln at fifty(?) bales of ... [total] 1000(?) bales.

'... ?props for the bath, would total ... 60.

- '... 6.
'... at 50 dungheaps of dung, 200.
'... each kiln at [2½] bales, [total] 100.'

(One column lost?)

(Col. xii)

(13th hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the masons and builders and carpenters of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, [through the persons from each(?)] craft signing below. [We were instructed by(?)] Aurelius Antonius, *vir perfectissimus, praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia, with complete accuracy to ... of the public buildings ...' (15 ff.) 'The Imperial Palace: for the repair or maintenance of the places requiring it ... would total ...
'We the masons: stones, one cubit long ... 10 fingerbreadths high, number ...
'We the builders: unbaked brick ...'

(Col. xiv)

'... 20, ... deep(?) ...
'And we, the builders ... for the paving of the stoa ...
'And we, the carpenters ... Imported beams ... 13, ... broad, ... *x* fingerbreadths thick ... Palm-wood beams ... *x* cubits long ... Imported props for ... *x* cubits long ...
'And for the Northern Stoa ...'

Col. i

2 The junction between VI 983 and the newly identified portion (see introd.) comes roughly two-thirds of the way along the lines. The papyrus separated at a manufacturer's kollesis. This was of the usual three layer type, and the edge vertical fibres of the upper sheet remain adhering to the lower sheet, followed by a blank area once covered by the written-on projecting horizontal fibre ends of the upper sheet. Here and there, writing traces are preserved on those vertical fibres because of gaps in the horizontal fibre structure of the upper sheet.

3 Aurelius Sarapion's name had been misinterpreted in earlier editions of this part of the text. Cf. LXIII 4370 6 n.

δημοσίου ιατροῦ. See LVIII 3926 37 n.

4 κς⁻ is a correction of Hunt's κε. Mecheir 26th here = 21 February 316. For the name Nundinarius see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 18, 221.

5 Παγγ[ουλε]είω looks a distinct possibility, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 128, but cannot be confirmed from the minimal traces. Note, however, that all the examples of ἐποίκιον with this name listed by Pruneti are much later, all sixth or seventh century AD.

9 π[α]ρὲξ οἰδήματος?

14 (ἔτους) εϛ'' [καὶ] ηϛ'' (=AD 315/6) was in essence already read by R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, CNBD II 24 = *BASP* 16 (1979) 233.

The space between κυρίων and ἡμῶν (with some possible traces, highly uncertain on the available photographs; ignored in the SB III 6003 edition) is unexpected. Conceivably ἡμῶν was written twice.

15 The consular year is 316. For κς⁻ cf. line 4 above where the previous day was κς⁻. Mecheir 27th here = 22 February 316.

16 The photograph shows traces of two (three?) lines below ων of προσφωνῶν, in a different hand. They appear to be on a piece that has been compacted against the back of the piece with 4441 col. i. This could imply that they have lifted off from a point on the roll further to the right, the roll having been rolled from left to right (cf. introduction), but I do not see a place for them.

Col. ii

1 The traces are sufficient only to show that a column number was present, not to identify it; the number ρζ = 107 is owed entirely to the clear ρς = 106 that heads the preceding column.

3 That the *curator*, although centrally appointed, was a member of the local bouletic class is well known; nevertheless, it is unusual to find him addressed in this way. The traces at the line end are puzzling.

4 Dioscorus son of Heron, public doctor, has not been attested elsewhere in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

7-8 The village of Senecelou is well known, see P. Pruneti, op. cit. 164-5. The farmstead of Hemiobelitu, on the other hand, is attested here for the first time.

8-9 Αὐρηλίον Θεώνος ἀπὸ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίων). The grammatical connection for these words remains unclear. I can only suppose that the writer omitted a word or words preceding them; the simplest solution may be to supply <διά>.

This Aurelius Theon has not previously been recorded in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. No doubt he would have been styled Valerius Theon while he held the post of *beneficiarius*, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 44. For the reversion to being styled Aurelius, cf. the *curator* Valerius Heron alias Sarapion (attested 308-12), styled Aurelius in 317/8 when out of office (XLV 3256; see LIV App. I, p. 223).

14 [ἐπε]ίδον. The papyrus probably actually had the common spelling ἐφίδον, cf. col. i 7 and e.g. I 53 9, LIV 3729 17.

20-21 One expects regnal formula + ἐπι ὑπατείας in these lines, cf. col. i 13-14 and col. iii 12-13, but it is very hard to elicit letters from the scanty ink traces on the shredded surface.

23 A date is expected between early January (col. iii) and 22 February (col. i), 316.

Col. iii

1 [ρη]. Cf. col. ii 1 n.

3 λαξολατόμων. *Addendum lexicis*. The word recurs in xii 2 and 18. For λαξοί cf. LIX 4003 18 n.

5 τῆς εἰς ἐπιμελείας. Cf. C. Balconi, *Aeg.* 63 (1983) 58-9.

7 Ἰς ἀρχαιωτάτης (l. ἀρχαιοτάτης) simply to be taken literally? Elsewhere it occurs as an honorific epithet (Memphis: P. Bour. 26 ii 3, = C. Pap. Gr. II 79) but it is not otherwise attested as such for Oxyrhynchus.

8 καὶ [χρ]όγον is no more than a guess.

8-9 πρὸς τὸ τὸ ἀφαλεῖς (l. ἀφαλεῖς) ὑπαρχθῆν[αι]. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 94. 15-16.

13-14 For the regnal and consular years cf. col. i. The day of the month was omitted. The possible range is Tybi 5-30, = January 1-26, 316.

15 The lost name might begin Ἀχιλ-, but I cannot adapt the traces that follow to this.

24 Presumably Heracles is intended as the name of Aphynchis' father, but the precise form given to the end of the name is unclear.

26 πρόκειται was surely intended, but it is very hard to see the ductus in the middle of the word.

Col. iv

2 λ[ό]γος, then space for 12 letters?

βορνής στοὰς καὶ ἀρχομένου ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτων. This topographical heading must have named the Northern Stoa, since the Southern Stoa section begins at vi 20, while here the entries begin 'from the east': compare v 23, where entries for the Eastern Stoa begin 'from the north'.

3 For τῦχος = τοῖχος, *passim* in these accounts, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 197-8.

8 Check marks of this more elaborate type occur throughout this detailed report of needed building repairs, mingled with the simple diagonal type; to be more precise, there is a mark at the start of every entry where the surface is not lacunose. This applies to cols. iv, v and vi.

The simple check mark no doubt has a positive significance. It may be too fanciful to see a negative significance in the elaborate type, comparing for example H. J. M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals* p. 40 (no. 359, ουκετι).

ιατρίω Διοσκόρου? (l. ιατρείω.) As outlined in the introduction, this could be the surgery of Dioscorus son of Heron, public doctor, who submits the report that forms 4441 col. ii.

The final trace is awkward; the line at this point is already much longer than the lines of this column further up. I suppose we must have a numeral, indicating how many new bases were required, but a simple figure (to keep the line as short as possible) is excluded by δύο at the start of the next line, and the shortest supplement seems to be δεκαδύο.

10 It is tempting to see a reference here to facilities for the *cursus velox*, since most Oxyrhynchite references to stables occur in this connection. However, we may wonder whether an establishment as large as the *mansio* in Oxyrhynchus would have needed to be (cf. LX 4087-8 introd., p. 193) would have been located in this relatively central area of the town. For στάβλος as the nominative form, see F. Mithof and A. Papatomas, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 76; cf. LXIII 4394 21-2 n. on φόρος = *forum*.

12 διφ[ρθώσεως. Cf. iv 17, 22 etc. See A. K. Orlandos and I. N. Traulos, *Λεξικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Ὁρῶν* 80. Elsewhere structures are said to require ἐπισκευή (v 16, 18 etc.) or ἔρεισις (vi 13), for which see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 110, 118, or ὑπορραφή (v 14, viii 1), 'patching'.

13 γελγηνῆθαι seems unavoidable, but awkward. I suppose its function here may be similar to iv 19, ἀχρήστους γεγενῆ[σθαι], perhaps introduced by a διὰ τὸ vel sim. clause which has been inserted between δεόμενοι διφ[ρθώσεως (iv 12) and the statement of agent which otherwise would have followed directly. iv 22-3 might be similar.

15 The interpretation of ὥστε here is uncertain. I have supposed it to be prepositional with the dative, although this usage is generally found applied to persons, not things.

17 ἀψίδος. Cf. I 43 verso, v 10. ἀψίς (see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 46) may have a range of meanings, 'joint' or 'clamp' or 'arch' or 'vault'. In 43, P. Vindob. G. 12565.193 ed. H. Schmitz, *Münch. Beitr.* 19 (1934) 427, and 4441 context seems to require a larger feature, not a small detail; 'arch' is proposed in the translation above.

18 διδασκαλίῳ (l. διδασκαλείῳ) γραμματοδιδασκάλου. Cf. iv 20 Διονυσίου γραμματοδιδασκ[άλου]. J. R. Rea, *LVIII 3952* 11 n., usefully collects the references to γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι. The teacher Dionysius has not been attested before in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

20 Cf. iv 18 n.

23 A surface crease has interrupted the writing in several lines in the lower part of this column. This is particularly noticeable here, λαχ ανοπωλ[, and to a lesser extent in 21, προσπα ρακιμενου.

Col. v

1 A high unexplained trace in the margin above the beginning of this line.

1-2 The initial traces are well to the left of the line beginnings preserved lower down in this column. I presume the writer started at this point and then realised how far to the right he had allowed himself to go in iv 10 and 12.

4 τῷ Τυχέ[?]φ. See J. E. G. Whitehorse, *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3083; G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* s.v. (fasc. 5, p. 1094). The presence in Oxyrhynchus of a Τυχέιον, now assured by 4441, must increase the possibility that XXXI 2553 3 (the only other reference in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus) does refer to Oxyrhynchus; for Alexandria as the location in 2553, see J. F. Gilliam, *ICS* 3 (1978) 123-6.

4-5 πέπ[α]λαῖωσθαι. Cf. P. Mil. II 41.8.

6 τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖῳ. The only other attestation of a temple of Achilles at Oxyrhynchus has been SB I 1955 (G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* s.v. (fasc. 1, p. 191); J. E. G. Whitehorse, *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3058).

If I am correct in interpreting the end of the line as δμαλείς, I see no obvious explanation for the plural, followed by clear ὁ δ ἕως in the next line. For δμαλής see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 191.

8 The 'record office of the Western Stoa' has not been attested before.

?Μικρ]ᾶς. Cf. the next note.

9 Τεγμενούθεως. For this quarter of Oxyrhynchus (variously spelt, but Τεμγ- is the commonest form) see H. Rink, *Strassen- u. Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* 34-5. Rink's several references only include one to the 'Small Temgenuthis' (p. 35), cf. v 8 here where Μικρᾶς is tentatively restored.

11 This is the first attestation of a μάκελλος at Oxyrhynchus. For the form such a structure might take, here clearly at least in part colonnaded, see D. M. Bailey, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein* IV 22. For the word as masculine cf. LXIII 4394 21-2 n.

13 τῷ ἐξαγορίῳ (l. ἐξαγορείῳ). The word has been much discussed, most recently by B. Kramer, P. Heid. IV 334.3-6 n., with J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 201-2; J. E. G. Whitehorse, briefly, in *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3082. Now for the first time the word is clearly shown to be a neuter noun referring to a place, and it is likely that the other occurrences should be understood in this way (SB V 7634.9-10, 14, 29; P. Mert. I 26.5; PSI III 215.6; P. Heid. IV 334.5). We might then translate e.g. P. Heid. IV 334.4-5, τῷ Θσηρείῳ τῷ τῶν ἐξαγορείων, as 'the Thoeorum of the proclamation halls', keeping Rea op. cit. in mind.

16 ἐπι[ε]κευή[ε]. Cf. iv 12 n.

18 χειριστῶν (l. χειριστῶν). Cf. 20. χειριστής has been variously translated in the Oxyrhynchus series: 'agent' (XII 1429, 1431, LVI 3874), 'assistant' (XLVIII 3429)—and left in Greek in XLIX 3513, 3515! Although we cannot be certain in the incomplete context, neither 'agent' nor 'assistant' looks appropriate here. Many of the persons liable for the listed repairs in 4441 are merchants of some kind (iv 23, vi 10, 13, 16, 19) and for χειριστής a general sense of 'merchant', 'dealer' or 'trader' may be likely.

19 φλει[ᾶς. Cf. Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 262 s.v. φλιά. λεανθέν. Cf. ibid. 166 s.v. λεαίνω.

21 μθραρίον. I suppose this to be equivalent to μτραρίον, but it would be an *addendum lexicis* in either form. μίτρα indicates various forms of headgear or girdles, cf. LS⁹. LS s.v. *mitra* suggests a further meaning 'rope' but the bald citations fail to make clear that a particular rope which performed a girdling function was so called.

Col. vi

1 The check mark and ecthesis are surprising. I suppose there must have been a one-line repairs entry, although nowhere else in this report is there an entry as short as that.

3 A superfluous horizontal line through δε[might imply a deletion.

5 πάντοι πα[λαι]ωθέντα τ[ε] καὶ πτῶων. Cf. P. Mil. II 41.8-9.

8 The horizontal fibre surface is stripped away at this level until nearly halfway across the column, at which point it is blank. The single ink trace is actually seepage down to the vertical fibres, but should suffice to indicate that there has been writing here. Its lateral placing aligns with the inset lines above and below, to accord with the expected layout.

11 Εὐπορίωνος. His name is not to be read in the declaration of the guild of ἀρτυματοπῶλαι, LIV 3739 8-9, 25.

12 τ[ο]ῦ Ἀδριανίου (l. Ἀδριανείου). For temples of Hadrian in Egypt see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 100; for Oxyrhynchus in particular, J. E. G. Whitehorse, *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3067. Whitehorse cites BL III for the correct reading in P. Harr. I 65, 8-9, but the version in L 3576 18-19 n. is to be preferred. There are two small errors to correct in *ZPE* 97 (1993) 100: the date of LIV 3764 is c. 326, and the reference to SB XVI 12596 should read 12695.

13 ἐρίσεως (l. ἐρείσεως). Cf. iv 12 n.

14 The ῥύμη of the θερμῶν βαλανείων was eliminated from I 43 verso iii 10 (where read πρ[ὸς] τῶν θερμῶν βαλανείων, cf. W. Chr. 474) but 4441 now shows that a similarly named street existed nevertheless. For a study in depth of the baths of Oxyrhynchus see J. Krüger, *Tyche* 4 (1989) 109-118. The association with the Eastern Stoa should indicate that the baths that gave their name to the ῥύμη in 4441 should be the same as the baths that gave their name to an ἄμφωδον in PUG I 22.9-10. From the plate I believe that β[αλ]ανίω[υ] τ[ο]ῦ in PUG 22.10 should be corrected to β[αλ]ανίω.

17 The evidence for the Demetreion and Dionyseion at Oxyrhynchus has recently been collected by J. E. G. Whitehorse, *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 3065-6.

Col. viii

5 I suspect that the character of the document changes here, and that this short line is a heading to a list of building materials needed, cf. cols. ix and following. The limited extent of this section is surprising, in comparison with what has preceded and with the extent of the two following documents. Perhaps it covers repairs to the public buildings only, whereas much of what is listed in cols. iv-vi relates to compulsory repairs to property for which individuals were responsible.

Col. ix

1 Λικινίου. Cf. 16 in this column. The name is spelt with one nu in iii 13. The consular year here is AD 315.

3 Ἀμμωνιανῶ. Before γι, there is clearly superfluous ink. Damage obscures certainty, but probably the writer made too many loops in writing omega.

7 μολυβουργῶν. The lead workers recur in ix 26. For their activities cf. P. Turner 50-53.

8 For glassworkers in connection with baths cf. XLV 3265.

9 κληδουργός *add. lexx.*

10 κοινατῶν. κοινάτων would also be possible, but it creates difficulties with the lacuna in 9, where an additional occupation would need to be fitted in.

11 We might expect λόγων here, cf. XLV 3265 8, but if so it would have to be very cramped and the interpretation of the following traces remains unsolved.

14-16 For imperial oath formulas at this period see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 202, but there is no precise parallel there for 4441's form.

24 Brick relates to the *οικοδόμοι*, ix 5, cf. xii 20, who are here followed by the *μολιβουργοί* (ix 26) as they are in the prescript (ix 7). Presumably *ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ οικοδόμοι* has been lost somewhere higher up; *οικοδόμοι* (*sic*) here in 25 must close their section in some way.

25a The line is inserted into the normal between-lines space. The insertion, beginning in space left in 25, is in a much smaller pale script.

29 Cf. XLV 3265 15.

Col. x

2 This should be the end of the section for the *μολιβουργοί*, cf. ix 7 and 26, or the start of the section for the *βαλουργοί*, ix 8.

4 At the extreme right margin at this level, one trace presumably from the following column. Some further traces lower down are on a superimposed piece of papyrus and belong to col. xii which was immediately on top of this.

7-8 οἱ ἐν[χρ]ῆ-⁸[ζοντες would be tempting, cf. ix 25 and 25a, but I do not think that the lacuna has space for [χρ].

9 The remains here are puzzling. A numeral may be represented, but even so the format is peculiar.

21]ολων or]αλων. Possibly θ]όλων, cf. VI 896 12, XVII 2145?

The *ἐντρος* seems commonly to have been a covered colonnade functioning as a gymnasium, often as here apparently (cf. x 7, 27) and in XLV 3265 14 in association with public baths. Cf. J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* 12 and Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 186.

The section for the *κοιᾶται* (ix 10) should begin here. Their work required no less than forty kilns (22), each using 17 cwt. (of limestone rubble?), a total of 680 cwt. (23), to be burnt to make the lime(?) for the plaster. The sections on plaster technology in Theophrastus *De Lapidibus* (§§ 64-9) are confused. A broad outline of the process can be followed in XX 2272 13-34, except that there the active constituent of the plaster would seem to be dehydrated gypsum whereas in 4441 I believe it to be lime. For *κοιᾶ* = lime see Theophr. *De Lapidibus* ed. Eichholz, p. 95. Each kiln may have required 50 bales (of chaff, cf. 2272 19-21?) as fuel, a total of 2000 bales, lines 25-6, except that whatever the unclear figure at the end of 26 may be, I cannot read it as 'B. The dung alluded to in 30 may have served as a high temperature fuel for these kilns, cf. Theophr. *De Lap.* § 69. The last commodity, 31-2, supposes 2½ bales per kiln.

24 ἐψίαν, if correct, I take to be the equivalent of ἐψησιν.

25 The *μώιον* has been variously translated, see the useful article of G. Husson, *CE* 57 (1982) 118-9. If I am right in my supposition that the commodity here is chaff, see x 21 n, 'bale' would seem an appropriate meaning.

The commodity of which much smaller quantities per kiln were required, also measured in *μώια*, x 31, remains unidentified.

27 ἐκρια (l. ἔκρια). Their nature and function here remain obscure. In a text published by A. Świderek, *JJP* 11-12 (1957-8) 66, *κωπεῶνες* for carrying temple statues in processions are made from *ἐκρια* which were apparently redundant theatre fittings. For further references for *ἐκρια* and cognate words see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. (iv 12 n.) 133.

28 ξ is exceptionally large and flamboyant. x 3 offers a reduced version of the same form.

30 The reading at the end of the line is not absolutely certain. Unexplained traces may be offset or from an erasure.

32 The papyrus is broken off immediately below this line, but this should be the foot of the column.

Col. xii

5-6 Aurelius Antonius is well attested as *praeses* of *Aegyptus Herculia* at this period. See J. Lallemand, *L'admin. civile* 255 with P. J. Sijpesteijn-K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 193.

8-10 Some of the traces of the right-hand portions of these lines are actually to be found adhering to the surface of col. x, which was the layer of the roll immediately under col. xii (see introd. above).

12-14 The placing of the opening brackets is arbitrary; the lines may have been inset, as below.

15 It was not previously known that there was a *ἱερὸν παλάτιον* at Oxyrhynchus. For a short discussion of these buildings in Egypt see LV 3788 4 n. 3788 itself attests a *palatium* at Memphis for the first time.

Col. xiii

I cannot exclude the possibility that these lines represent the ends of lines of col. xii (xiii 4 = xii 16, xiii 6-7 = xii 19-20), but I see no way to confirm it. A kollesis must have intervened, given the widths involved, so excluding fibre comparison.

Col. xiv

5 The space seems inadequate to allow ξκ μ[ήκουσ πη]χ(ών) υγ' (πηχών abbreviated πηχ). Alternatively, εἰς [might be possible, cf. 9, but what follows would be problematical, and we would then expect ἐκ before πλάτ[ουσ.

R. A. COLES

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or *Suppl.*

I. COMEDY

ἀβέλτερος **4407** 98
 ἀγαθός **4407** 91
 ἀγορά **4407** 89
 ἀδελφός **4409**¹ 2
 ἀδικεῖν **4407** 110 *bis*
 ἀδίκημα **4407** 101
 ἄδηλος **4407** 20
 Ἀθηνᾶ **[4412**¹ 18]
 ἀθῶος **4407** 78
 αἰσθάνεσθαι **4407** 28
 αἰσχύνειν **4407** 17
 αἴτιος **4407** 100
 ἀκόλαστος **[4407** 87]
 ἀκολουθεῖν **4407** 59, 60, 61
 ἀκούειν **4407** 102
 ἀκρατής **[4407** 16]
 ἀλλά **4407** [29], [30], [82], [89] **4409**¹ 12 **4411**⁴ 2
 ἄλλος **4407** 90, 113
 ἄλλως **4409**¹ 19
 ἄμα **[4407** 66]
 ἀμελεῖν **4407** 107
 ἀμφότερος **4409**¹ 5
 ἄν **4407** 86, 92 **4408** 155
 (ἀνα)κάμπτεω **[4412**¹ 13?]
 ἀναξ **4411**²⁶ 3
 ἀνέγκλητος **4407** 65
 ἀνιάν **4407** 113
 ἀξιοῦν **4407** 113 **4409**¹ 12, 14
 ἀξίως **4407** 96
 ἄπας **4407** 17
 ἀπιέναι **4407** 89 **4408** 155
 ἄπιετος **4408** 158
 ἀποδιδόναι **[4407** 26]
 ἀπολλύναι **4407** 68
 Ἀπόλλων **[4411**²⁸ 2?]
 ἀποτυγχάνειν **4407** 88
 ἄρα **4407** 24
 ἀρμόττειν **4407** 10
 ἀρνεῖσθαι **4407** 20
 Ἄρτεμις **4408** 156
 ἀστραπηφορ- **4411**² 5
 ἀτοπία **4409**¹ 9
 αὐτίκα **4407** 93
 αὐτός **4407** 13, 15, 56 **4409**¹ 5, 8
 αὐτός **4407** 94 **4409**¹ 11 **4411**⁹ 4
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι **4409**¹ 13
 ἀχθομαι **4408** 156
 βαδίζειν **4409**¹ 8 **4412**¹ 9
 βίος **4407** 57
 βλέμμα **4407** 105
 βολβός **4411**⁴¹ 2?
 βούλεσθαι **4407** 58
 γάμος **4409**¹ 19
 γάρ **4407** 17, 21, 27, [30], 65, [84], 95, 107,
 113 **4409**¹ 14, 18 **4411**⁴ 1¹¹ 1
 γε **[4407** 97, 106]
 γῆ **4407** 103
 γίγνεσθαι **4407** 65 *bis*, [78], 86, 100, 111 **4409**¹ 19,
 20 *bis*
 γόης **4407** 86
 γοῦν **4407** 112
 γραῦς **4411**⁶² 1?
 δάκρυ **4411**¹⁴ 3?
 δέ **4407** 12, 14, 25, 47, 59, 63, 94, 97, 98, (τὰ-) 100,
 101, 110, 112, 113 **[4409**¹ 7, 21] **4411**⁹
 3 **4408** 154, 156
 δεῖν **4407** 29, [62] **4409**¹ 20
 δεῖνός **4407** 110
 δεσπότης **4411**² 4
 δεῦρο **4407** 51
 δέχεσθαι **4411**⁹ 3
 διδόναι **4407** 47? [52], 61, 90 **4411**⁴ 1, 2
 ?διέρχεσθαι **[4409**¹ 8]
 δίκαιος **4409**¹ 4
 δίκη **4411**⁴ 1
 διαφορεῖν **4407** 57
 δοκεῖν **4407** 91
 δοῦλος **4407** 24
 εἶν **[4407** 59]
 ἐγγυᾶν **4409**¹ 18

ἐγκαλεῖν **[4407** 50]
 ἐγώ **4407** 14, 17, 20, 25, [29], [53], 59, 61, [63],
 [84], [87], 89, 91, 96, 103, 104, 108, 110, 111,
 112, 113 *bis* **4408** 154 **4409**¹ 12, 13, 14, 16,
 [19] **4411**¹⁶ 4³⁵ 3
 ἔγωγε **4407** 99
 εἰ **4407** 14, [85]
 εἶναι **4407** 18, 20, 86, 87, 88, 98, 103 *bis*
 εἰς **4407** 21, [65] **4409**¹ 5
 εἰς **4407** 18, 49, 54 **4411**⁵ 1
 εἶσω **[4408** 154] **4409**¹ 8
 εἶτα **4407** 102, 107
 ἐκ **4407** 9
 ἐκβιάζω **4409**¹ 3
 ἐκείνος **4407** 11, 16, 30, 100, 102 **4409**¹ 7
 ἐκκαλεῖν **4407** 11
 ἐκτόπως **[4407** 108]
 ἐκτρέχειν **4412**¹ 16
 ἐλαύνειν **4407** 16
 ἐλευθερίως **4407** 96
 ἐλεεῖν **4407** 99
 ἐμαντοῦ **4407** 41
 ἐν **4407** 18, 94
 ἐναντίον **4407** 12
 ἐνδον **4407** 107
 ἐνεῖναι **4409**¹ 18
 ἐνθάδε **4407** 102
 ἐνταῦθα **4407** 106
 ἐξέχειν **4407** 85
 ἐξιέναι **4409**¹ 7, 10 **4412**⁹ 3?
 ἐπανάγειν **[4407** 23]
 ἐπί **4407** 30
 ἐπιβουλεύειν **4407** 54
 ἐπιθυμία **4407** 81
 ἐρᾶν **4407** 92, 109
 ἐργάζεσθαι **4412**⁹ 2
 ἔρωος **4407** 113
 ἔτερος **4409**¹ 17
 εἶ **4411**²⁶ 5
 εἶνονος **4409**¹ 21
 εὐρίσκειν **4407** 97
 εὐφραίνειν **4407** 66
 ἔχειν **4407** 26 **4409**¹ 6, 10, 12
 Ζεὺς **4407** 22 **4409**¹ 20 **4412**¹ 17
 ἦ **4409**¹ 14
 ἦ **4407** 84 **4409**¹ 16
 ἦδέως **4407** 92
 ἦδη **4407** 18, 29 **4409**¹ 18
 ἦκειν **4407** 22, [24], [51]
 ἦλιος **4407** 84
 θεᾶσθαι **4411**⁸⁶ 5?
 θέλειν **4408** 155

I. COMEDY

195

θεός **4407** 21, 95 **4408** 155 **4409**¹ 20 **[4412**¹ 4?]
 Θεότιμος **4407** 55, 56
 θυγάτηρ **4409**¹ 2, 13
 ἰέναι **4412**¹ 15?
 ἰκανός **4407** 15
 ἰκανώς **[4407** 97]
 ἰστάναι **4411**²⁹ 4
 ἴσως **4407** 24
 ἰταμός **4407** 21, 101
 καί **4407** 14, 59, 60, 91 *bis*, 93, 95, 99, 104 *bis*,
 105 **4409**¹ 15, 17, 18, 19, 20 **4412**¹ 8, 12
 κακοδομί- **[4411**¹⁶ 2?]
 κακός **4407** 23, 106
 κακώς **4407** 23, 68
 καλεῖν **4412**¹ 8
 καλός **4407** 91
 καλῶς **4407** 61, 97
 καταλαμβάνειν **4407** 106
 καταλείπειν **4407** 14
 κατατιθέναι **4407** 55
 κατέχειν **4407** 19
 κατηγοτής **4407** 104
 κάτω **4410**¹ 2
 κενός **4407** [25], 53, 92
 κηδεστής **4409**¹ 12
 κολλάζειν **4409**¹ 6
 κομίζω **4407** 51, 94, 95 **4411**¹⁵ 1
 κόρη **4412**¹ 7
 Κράτ(ε)α **4408** 157?
 λαμβάνειν **4407** 45? [53], 56, 59, 60, 62, 64, 82
 λανθάνειν **4408** 154 **4411**⁶ 4
 Λάχης **4409**¹ 12
 λέγων **4407** 29, 83, 104, 107, 112
 λόγος **4407** 53
 Λυδός **4407** 14
 μά **4411**⁴ 3 **4412**¹ 17
 μαλθακ- **4411**⁴⁸ 2
 μάλιστα **4407** 25
 μάλλον **4407** 66 *bis*, 96
 μάτην **4407** 41
 μάχεσθαι **4407** 62
 μειρακ- **4411**²⁶ 2
 μέν **4407** 20, (τὰ-) 99
 μέσον **4407** 21
 μετά **4407** 59 **4408** 157
 μή **4407** 22, 53, 83, 105, 111 **4409**¹ 4, 6 **4411**⁹ 4
 μηδέ **4407** 49 **4409**¹ 4
 μηδεῖς **4407** 26
 μῆν **4407** 82, [91]

μόλις **4412**² 2?
μόνον **4407** 61
Μόσχος **4407** 99, 107
μῦθος [**4407** 29]

ναί **4407** 106
νή **4407** 22, 95 **4408** 156
νεανίας [**4412**¹ 3?]
νεκρός [**4407** 29]
νέος **4407** 105
νομίζω **4407** 86, 101
νουθετεῖν **4407** 12
νῦν **4407** 85 **4408** 156 **4409**¹ 14, 18 [**4411**⁴ 2]
νύξ **4407** 86

ξένος **4407** 50, 64

οἶεσθαι **4407** 98
οἶος **4407** 98
οἶόν τε **4411**²⁶ 4
οἴκαδε [**4412**¹ 13?]
οἰκία **4407** 9, 13
ὄλος **4407** 13
ὀμνύειν **4412**¹ 18
ὀννάειν **4407** 22
ὄραν **4407** [30], 92 **4409**¹ 15, [17]
ὀργίζεσθαι **4407** 99
ὄς, ὄ **4407** 94, 109 **4409**¹ 4, 20
ὄσος [**4407** 52]
ὄσπερ **4407** 83
ὄστις, ὄ τι **4407** 90
ὄταν [**4407** 28]
ὄτι **4412**¹ 6
ὄ **4407** [55], [56], 107 **4409**¹ 6
ὄδδὲ **4407** 54 *bis*, 112
ὄδδεις [**4407** 54] **4408** 158
ὄθεις **4407** 88
ὄκ **4407** 20, 100, 112 **4409**¹ 18 (ὄχ) **4411**²⁶ 4
ὄκκέτι **4408** 154
ὄκκουν **4407** 87
ὄκκοῦν **4407** [61]
ὄν **4407** 58
ὄπτος **4407** 15, 18, 19, 63, 87, 89, 90, 95, 97, 105, 109, 111 **4409**¹ 3, 7, 9, 11, 17
ὄπτος **4407** [30], 84
ὄπως **4407** 78 **4409**¹ 6
ὄρχι **4411**⁴ 2

παίζω **4407** 60
παῖς **4407** 52
πανταχοῦ **4407** 46
πάνυ **4407** 95 [**4411**¹¹ 1]
παρά **4407** 53, 64
παραιτιθέναι [**4407** 89]

παρεῖναι **4409**¹ 21
παριστάναί **4407** 85
παροιμία **4407** 28
παρορμᾶν **4407** 54
πᾶς **4407** 21, [26], [52], 63, 65, 94, 102
πατήρ **4407** 24, 26, 57, 87, 88 **4409**¹ 1
παύειν **4407** 27
πεῖθειν **4407** 24
πιθανεύεσθαι **4407** [27], 93
πικρῶς **4407** 16
πίνειν **4408** 157 **4412**¹ 12?
πιστεύειν **4407** 83
πληγή **4407** 18
πλησίον **4412**¹ 11
ποιεῖν **4407** 78, 97 **4409**¹ [9], 19
πολύς **4411**⁸⁹ 2?
ποτέ **4407** 28, 98 **4408** 157 **4409**¹ 15
πράττειν **4407** 90
πρὶν **4407** 62
πρό **4407** 108
προάγειν **4407** 14, 15
προαρπάζειν **4407** 19
προβαίνειν **4410**¹ 2
προσηλακίζειν **4409**¹ 17
πρός **4407** [55], [56], [57], 89 **4409**¹ 15
προσαγορεύειν **4409**¹ 16
προσγίγνεσθαι **4409**¹ 11
προσδοκᾶν **4407** 93
προσέχειν **4407** 53
προσιέναι **4409**¹ 16
προϋργαίτερος **4407** 63
πρώτος **4407** 109
πυνηθάνεσθαι **4407** 43
πῶς **4407** 107

σεαντοῦ **4409**¹ 13
σεαντόν **4409**¹ 15
σκότος **4407** 85
σκυθρωπός **4407** 104
σκόμμα **4410**¹ 1
στρατηγία **4411**⁷ mrg. 1?
σύ **4407** 11, 24, 47, 49, 52, 62, 65, 66, 88, 90, 104, 111 **4409**¹ 7, [7], [16] **4411**⁹ 2, 3¹⁶ 5
συλλαμβάνειν **4409**¹ 21
συμπεῖθειν [**4407** 25]
συμφέρειν **4409**¹ 4
συνιέναι **4411**⁶ 3?
Σύρα **4408** 155
Σύρος **4407** 58, 84
σφάδρα **4407** 10, 57
σφάζειν **4407** 13
Σώστρατος **4407** 6, 15, 19, 23, 66, 103, 111
σωφρόνως [**4409**¹ 8]

ταχύς **4407** 52
τε **4407** 13, 13, 21, [57], 61, [66], 96
τίς, τί **4407** 58, [62], [64], 96, 103, 104, 112 **4408** 157 **4409**¹ 15
τις, τι **4407** 58, 106 **4408** 154 **4409**¹ 10, 14, 21, [21]² 7, 12
τοῖνον **4407** 22, 23
τόκος **4407** 48
τολμ- **4411**¹¹ 4

ὑπόδακρυς **4407** 105
ὑπομένειν [**4409**¹ 16]
ὑποχείριος **4407** 82

φάναι **4407** 64, 85, 94
φανερῶς [**4411**¹¹ 2?]
φθέγγεσθαι **4409**¹ 14
φιλεῖν **4407** 108
φίλος **4407** 13, 17

φράζειν **4411** [¹⁶ 4?] ³⁵ 2
φροντίζω [**4407** 58]
φροῦδος **4407** 18
φυλάττειν **4407** 56

χαίρειν **4407** 103
χαλεπός **4409**¹ 15
χρηθεῖν **4407** 16, 63
χρηστός **4407** 50, 57, 88
χρόνος **4407** 108
χρυσίον **4407** 27, [52], 55, [60], 64, 94
Χρω(σίς) **4408** 155
χωρεῖν [**4407** 30]

ψοφεῖν **4409**¹ 21
ψυχή **4409**¹ 16

ὄ **4409**¹ 20 **4411**²⁶ 3?
ὄς **4407** [25], 62
ὄσπερ **4411**²⁸ 1?

II. HELLENISTIC POETS

ἄγαλμα **4426** 9–10
ἄκανθος [**4432** i 10]
ἀναλίπουε **4432** i 8
ἀνήρ **4432** i 3
ἀνυπόδητος **4432** i 6
ἀπλανής **4426** 16
ἀραρίσκειν **4426** 11
ἀσπάλαθος **4432** i 10, 13
ἀστήρ **4426** 12
αὐτός [**4426** 6]

γάρ **4426** 9 **4432** i 9, [18?]
γένος [**4432** ii 9–10]
γράφειν **4432** i 12

δέ **4432** i 7, 13
δινεύεσθαι **4426** 2?

εἶδος **4432** i 10
εἶναι **4432** i 2, 9, 14
ἐκ **4432** i 8
ἐκθλίβεσθαι **4432** i 7
ἐν **4426** 10 **4432** i 9
ἐξής **4426** 8

ἦ **4432** ii 10
ἡλικία **4432** ii 8
ἡλικός **4432** i 3

θαυμα- **4432** ii 7

καί **4432** i 9, 12, [15], 18
κάκτος **4432** i 9, 11
κατά **4426** 6

λέγειν **4432** i 10–11
λέξις **4432** i 8
λίαν **4426** 10
Λύγδαμς **4427** 3

μικρός **4432** i 2

νύξ **4426** 9, 12

ὄρος **4432** i 9
ὄς **4432** i 14
ὄρανός **4426** 11

πάλη [**4426** 5]
Πᾶν **4432** ii 12
παρά [**4432** i 13]
παραγίγνεσθαι **4432** i 7
Παρθέσιος **4427** 5, 6
πᾶς **4426** 9
Παφλαγονία **4427** 5
περί **4427** 3
ποταμός **4427** 5, 6 *bis*

κάλανθρον **4432** i 17
καλός **4432** i 18
επαλάσσειν **4432** i 14
επάλαυθρον **4432** i 15
κύ **4432** ii 10

ν **4432** i 8
ὕπό **4427** 2

φάνα **4432** i 6-7

ώρα **4426** 6
ὡσαύτως **4426** 10

]έναι **4426** ii 3
]μυγνύναι **4426** ii 3

III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

HADRIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός
4433 22-24 (year 15?)

ANTONINUS PIUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀντωνίνος ὁ κύριος **4434** 12-14 (year 17)

SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοὶ **4435** 1
(year 8)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος
Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστός Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβητικὸς

Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστός
4435 17-18

θεοὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος **4437** 1

DECIUS

Μέσσιος **4438** 5

VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Πούπλιος Λικίνιος
Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς
Γαλλιηνὸς Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς

καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Κορηγίλιος Καλωνίνος
Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος **4439** 34-40 (year 6)

CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Λικίνιος
Σεβαστοὶ **4441** i 14 (year 10 and 8)

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Λικίνιος Σεβαστοὶ
4441 iii 13 (year 10 and 8)

οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Λικίνιος
Αὐτοκράτορες **4441** ix 15-16 (oath formula)

IV. CONSULS

AD 315 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
καὶ Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν **4441** ix 1-2

AD 316 ἐπὶ ὑπατείας Καικινίου Καβίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου
Ρουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4441** i 14-15 [ii
22-23] iii 13-14

V. MONTHS AND DAYS

(a) MONTHS

Ἐπέφ **4436** ii 25 (Ἐπειπ)

Θῶθ **4433** 24

Ἰανουάριος **4435** 7

Μεσορή **4434** 14

Μεχέιρ **4436** ii 13 **4437** 10 **4441** i 4, 15

Παῦνι **4436** ii 22 **4439** 12
Παχῶν **4436** ii 21, 22

Τῦβι **4441** iii 14

Φαμενώθ **4435** 2 **4436** ii 16
Φαρμούθι **4436** ii 18
Φάωφι **4436** ii 5 **4438** 28

Χοιάκ **4436** ii 3, 11, 12 **4438** 5

(b) DAYS

ἐπαγομένη **4436** ii 25

Καλάνδαι **4435** 7

VI. DATES

22 September 130? **4433** 22-24

15 August 154? **4434** 12-14

20 March 200 **4435** 2

21 February 316 **4441** i 4

22 February 316 **4441** i 15

VII. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἄγαθος (former?) cosmetes **4436** ii 7

Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμων *see* Αὐρήλιος Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμων

Ἀδριανός *see* Index III s.v. Hadrian

Ἀθηνόδωρος **4441** vi 7

Ἄμμων butcher **4441** vi 18, 19

Ἄμμωνιανός *see* Οὐαλέριος Ἄμμωνιανός alias Γερόντιος

Ἀμμώνιος **4436** ii 28

Ἀμοῖς s. of Tarullas, h. of Thermis and f. of Dionys
4440 9

Ἀντωνίνος *see* Index III s.vv. Antoninus Pius,
Septimius Severus and Caracalla

Ἀντώνιος *see* Αὐρήλιος Ἀντώνιος

* Ἀπικ h. of Tateichis and f. of Taysorapis **4433** 5

Ἀπολλοφάνης *see* Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλοφάνης

Ἀπολλώνιος h. of Taaphynchis, f. of Aur.Asclas
4439 2-3

Ἀπολλῶς νομικός **4436** i 15

Ἄρτεμιδωρος *see* Αὐρήλιος Ἄρτεμιδωρος

Ἄσκλης *see* Αὐρήλιος Ἄσκλης

Αὐρήλιος *see* Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla

Αὐρήλιος Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμων strategus of the
Oxyrhynchite nome **4438** 1

Αὐρήλιος Ἀντώνιος *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia [**4441**
xii 5-6]

Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλοφάνης (former?) exegetes, councillor,
f. of Aur.Theon alias Castor and Aur.Dioscurides

4438 3, 30-31

Αὐρήλιος Ἄρτεμιδωρος stone-cutter, s. of Heracles
4441 iii 25

Αὐρήλιος Ἄσκλης s. of Apollonius and Taaphynchis
4439 2

Αὐρήλιος Ἀφῶγχις stone-cutter, s. of Heracles **4441**
iii 24

Αὐρήλιος Ἀχιλλεύς builder **4441** ix 4

Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος s. of Thonius **4441** iii 15, 16

Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος s. of Heron, doctor **4441** ii 4, 24
iv 8?

Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος s. of Serenus, carpenter **4441**
iii 20

Αὐρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης s. of Aur.Apollophanes **4438**
2-3, 29

Αὐρήλιος Εὐδαίμων *see* Σεπτίμιος Αὐρήλιος Εὐδαίμων
Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης s. of Petronius and Plutarche
4437 12

Αὐρήλιος Θέων former beneficiarius **4441** ii 8-9

Αὐρήλιος Θέων alias Castor, s. of Aur.Apollophanes
4438 2, 29

Ἀβρήλιος Θώνιος carpenter, s. of Dionysius **4441** iii 19
 Ἀβρήλιος Λεωνίδης strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome **4437** 11
 Ἀβρήλιος Μέλας **4441** iii 15
 Ἀβρήλιος Σακαῶν carpenter, s. of Horus **4441** iii 19
 Ἀβρήλιος Σαραπίων s. of Herodotus, doctor **4441** i 3
 Ἀβρήλιος Σαραπίων alias Dionysiotheon, (former?) gymnasiarch, councillor, s. of Septimius Epimachus **4438** 8
 Ἀβρήλιος Σιλβανός lead-worker? **4441** ix 5, 6
 Ἀβρήλιος Χωός s. of Pausirion **4441** iii 17
 Ἀβρήλιος *Ωρος s. of Horus **4441** ii 6–7
 Ἀβρήλιος *Ωρος s. of Paesis and Techosis **4439** 1
 Ἀβύγχις see Ἀβρήλιος Ἀβύγχις
 Ἀχιλλεύς see Ἀβρήλιος Ἀχιλλεύς

Γαλληνός see Index III s.v. Valerian and Gallienus
 Γερμανός see Κλαύδιος Γερμανός
 Γερόντιος see Οθαλέριος Ἀμμωνιανός alias Γερόντιος

Δαμασκίος f. of Varus **4435** 19
 Δημήτριος [**4441** vi 2, 3]
 Δημήτριος see Ἀβρήλιος Δημήτριος
 Διδυμος **4441** iii 22
 Διδυμος fruiterer **4441** vi 9, 10
 Διδυμος f. of Didymus and gd.-f. of Didymus **4433** 1
 Διδυμος f. of Didymus and h. of (1) Sarapous and (2) Taysorapis and s. of Didymus **4433** 1, 4, 13, 24–5
 Διδυμος s. of Didymus and Sarapous and gd.-s. of Didymus **4433** 1, 24
 Διδυμος s. of Theon and Heras, gd.-s. of Didymus **4440** 15
 Διδυμος f. of Theon, gd.-f. of Didymus and Sarapion **4440** 15
 Διογένης **4441** vi [4], 6
 Διονύς s. of Amois and Thermis, gd.-s. of Tarullas **4440** 9
 Διονύσιος γραμματοδιδάσκαλος **4441** iv 20
 Διονύσιος f. of Aur.Thonius **4441** iii 19
 Διονύσιος s. of Dionysius, gd.-s. of Dionysius **4440** 23
 Διονύσιος s. of Dionysius, f. of Dionysius **4440** 23
 Διονύσιος f. of Dionysius, gd.-f. of Dionysius **4440** 23
 Διονύσιος **4436** ii 5
 Διονυσοθέων see Ἀβρήλιος Σαραπίων alias Dionysiotheon
 Διόσκορος see Ἀβρήλιος Διόσκορος
 Διοσκουρίδης see Ἀβρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης
 Δούλιος vetch-seller **4441** vi 16
 Δωρᾶς s. of Sarapas and Dem-, gd.-s. of Theon **4440** 25

Ἐπάγαθος freedman **4435** 21
 Ἐπίμαχος see Σεπτίμιος Ἐπίμαχος

Ἐρμαῖος f. of Procondes **4435** 21
 Ἐρμόφαντος f. of Capito **4437** 1
 Ἐυδαίμων [**4441** iv 13]
 Ἐυδαίμων see Σεπτίμιος Ἀβρήλιος Ἐυδαίμων
 Ἐμπορίων former condiment-seller **4441** vi 11, 13

Ζακαῶν pastry-cook **4441** vi 10

Ἡλιόδωρος **4441** v 10
 Ἡραῖς see Ἀβρηλία Κασιανή alias Herais
 Ἡρακλᾶς s. of Saras, h. of Sinthonis, f. of Saras and Patalis **4440** 19
 Ἡρακλειδης see Ἀβρήλιος Ἡρακλειδης
 Ἡρακλειδης [**4441** ix 6–7]
 Ἡρακλειδης plasterer? **4441** ix 9
 Ἡρακλῆς f. of Aur.Aphynchis **4441** iii 24
 Ἡρακλῆς f. of Aur.Artemidorus **4441** iii 25
 Ἡρακλῆς χειριστής **4441** v 20
 Ἡρᾶς w. of Theon, m. of Didymus and Sarapion **4440** 16
 Ἡρόδοτος f. of Aur. Sarapion **4441** i 3
 Ἡρων f. of Aur.Dioscorus **4441** ii 4

Θαῆςςςςς vegetable-seller **4441** iv 23
 Θερίμης w. of Amois, m. of Tarullas **4440** 10
 Θέων **4441** ix 10
 Θέων f. of Pausirion, gd.-f. of Theonas **4440** 13
 Θέων s. of Didymus, h. of Heras, f. of Didymus and Sarapion **4440** 15
 Θέων f. of Sarapas, gd.-f. of Doras **4440** 25
 Θέων gd.-f. of Plution and Onnophris, f. of Hierax **4440** 3
 Θέων s. of Ophelion **4434** 6
 Θέων see Ἀβρήλιος Θέων
 Θέων see Ἀβρήλιος Θέων alias Castor
 Θεωνᾶς s. of Pausirion and Thermu-, gd.-s. of Theon **4440** 12
 Θώνιος f. of Aurelius Demetrius **4441** iii 15
 Θώνιος μυθᾶριος **4441** v 21, 22
 Θώνιος see also Ἀβρήλιος Θώνιος

Ἰέραξ s. of Theon, f. of Plution and Onnophris, h. of Sarapus **4440** 3
 Ἰουλιανός see Κλαύδιος Ἰουλιανός

Καικίνιος see Index IV, s.v. AD 316
 Καῖσαρ **4435** 9 see also Index III s.vv. Hadrian, Severus and Caracalla, Valerian and Gallienus
 Καλαμίνη w. of Horus, m. of Horus **4437** 15
 Καπίτων s. of Hermophantus **4437** 1
 Κασιανή see Ἀβρηλία Κασιανή alias Herais
 Κάστωρ see Ἀβρήλιος Θέων alias Castor
 Κλαύδιος Γερμανός *orbis* of *leg.III Cyrenaica* **4434** 1
 Κλαύδιος Ἰουλιανός (prefect?) **4435** 23

Κορινθίλιος see Index III s.v. Valerian and Gallienus
 Κωνσταντῖνος see Index III s.v. Constantine and Licinius; Index IV s.v. AD 315

Λαιτώριος see Index X
 Λεωνίδης see Ἀβρήλιος Λεωνίδης
 Λικίνιος see Index III s.v. Constantine and Licinius
 Λικόνιος see Index III s.v. Valerian and Gallienus, Constantine and Licinius; Index IV s.v. AD 315
 Λούκιος see Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla

Μάρκος see Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla
 Μέλας χειριστής **4441** v 18
 Μέλας see Ἀβρήλιος Μέλας
 Μέσσιος see Index III s.v. Decius
 Μουεῖς guard **4441** i 6, 7

Νειλάμμων **4441** ix 8
 Νουνδιᾶριος see Οθαλέριος Νουνδιᾶριος

Ὀνώφρις s. of Hierax and Sarapus, gd.-s. of Theon **4440** 5 see also Index VIII(c)
 Οθαλεριανός see Index III s.v. Valerian and Gallienus
 Οθαλέριος Ἀμμωνιανός alias Gerontius, curator **4441** i 1, ii 2 (also councillor), iii 2, ix 3, xii 1
 Οθαλέριος Νουνδιᾶριος **4441** i 4
 Οἰᾶρος s. of Damasaesus **4435** 19
 Οἰέτιος see Index IV s.v. AD 316

Παῆςςςς h. of Techosis, f. of Aur.Horus **4439** 1
 Πασίων (former?) gymnasiarch **4436** i 16
 Παταλίς s. of Heraclis and Sinthonis, gd.-s. of Saras **4440** 21
 Πανσεριών s. of Theon, h. of Thermu- and f. of Theonas **4440** 12
 Πανσεριών f. of Aur.Chōous **4441** iii 18
 Περτίναξ see Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla
 Πετρώνιος f. of Aurelius Heracleides, h. of Plutarche **4437** 12
 Πλουτάρχη w. of Petronius, m. of Aurelius Heracleides **4437** 13
 Πλουτίων s. of Hierax and Sarapus, gd.-s. of Theon **4440** 3
 Πολυδεύκης [**4441** ix 5–6]
 Πούπλιος see Index III s.v. Valerian and Gallienus
 Προκόνδης s. of Hermaeus **4435** 21
 Πτολεμαῖος s. of Tarullas, h. of Saracus, f. of Tarullas **4440** 7

Ῥουφίνος see Index IV s.v. AD 316

Σαβεῖνος see Index IV s.v. AD 316
 Σακαῶν see Ἀβρήλιος Σακαῶν
 Σαλωνίνος see Index III s.v. Valerian and Gallienus

Σαραεὺς w. of Ptolemaeus, m. of Tarullas **4440** 8
 Σαραπάς s. of Theon, h. of Dem-, f. of Doras **4440** 25
 Σαραπίων **4441** vi 4, 6
 Σαραπίων s. of Theon and Heras, gd.-s. of Didymus **4440** 17
 Σαραπίων see also Ἀβρήλιος Σαραπίων
 Σαραπούς w. of Didymus, m. of Didymus **4433** 2
 Σαραπούς w. of Hierax, m. of Plution and Onnophris **4440** 4
 Σαράς s. of Heraclis and Sinthonis, gd.-s. of Saras **4440** 19
 Σαράς f. of Heraclis, gd.-f. of Saras and Patalis **4440** 19
 Σεούηρος see Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla
 Σεπτίμιος see Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla
 Σεπτίμιος Ἀβρήλιος Ἐυδαίμων gymnasiarch, councillor, s. of Serenus **4439** 4–5
 Σεπτίμιος Ἐπίμαχος former eutheniarch, f. of Aur.Sarapion alias Dionysiotheon and Aurelia Casiane alias Herais **4438** 10
 Σερήνος f. of Septimius Aurelius Eudaemon **4439** 5
 Σερήνος f. of Aur.Dioscorus **4441** iii 20
 Σιλβανός see Ἀβρήλιος Σιλβανός
 Σιθῶνις w. of Heraclis, m. of Saras and Patalis **4440** 20

Τααφύγχις m. of Aurelius Asclas, w. of Apollonius **4439** 3
 Τανερεὺς m. of Horus **4433** 8
 Ταρούλλας s. of Ptolemaeus and Saracus, gd.-s. of Tarullas **4440** 7
 Ταρούλλας f. of Ptolemaeus, gd.-f. of Tarullas **4440** 7
 Ταρούλλας f. of Amois, gd.-f. of Dionys **4440** 9
 Τατέχις w. of Apis and m. of Taysorapis **4433** 6
 Ταῦσοραπίς d. of Apis and Tateichis and w. of Didymus **4433** 5
 Τεχῶσις m. of Aur.Horus, w. of Paesis **4439** 2
 Τραϊανός see Index III s.v. Hadrian

Φανίας f. of Phantias **4436** ii 29
 Φανίας s. of Phantias **4436** ii 29
 Φίβις **4441** ii 10, 14
 Φίλικκος **4436** ii 10, 16, 18–20
 Φιλόκιος **4441** v 10

Χωός see Ἀβρήλιος Χωός

*Ωρος see Ἀβρήλιος *Ωρος
 *Ωρος f. of Aurelius Horus **4441** ii 7
 *Ωρος f. of Aurelius Sacaon **4441** iii 19
 *Ωρος f. of Horus, h. of Calamine **4437** 14
 *Ωρος s. of Tanesneus **4433** 7
 *Ωρος s. of Horus and Calamine **4437** 14
 *Ωφελίων f. of Theon **4434** 6–7

VIII. GEOGRAPHICAL

(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

- Αἴγυπτος **4441** xii 5
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια **4435** 20, 23 **4437** 10
 Ἀλεξανδρείς **4435** 7 ἢ λαμπροτάτη πόλις τῶν
 Ἀλεξανδρέων **4438** 11-12
 Ἡρκευλία **4441** xii 5
- Ὁξυρυγχίτης (νομός) **4434** 5 **4437** 11 **4438**
 1 **4441** i 2, ii 2, iii 2, 22, ix 3, xii 1
 Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις **4438** 4, 9-10 **4439** 6-7 **4441**
 i 3, ii 3, ix 10, xii 3
 Ὁξυρύγχων πόλις **4433** 2-3

(b) VILLAGES, ETC.

- Ἡμοβελίτου (ἐποίκιον) **4441** ii 7-8, 13
 Σεκελεού **4441** ii 8
- Σενέπτα **4439** 4, 14
 Ταλαῶ **4437** 13, 16

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- ἄμφοδον **4438** 13
 ἀναμφοδάρχων (ἄμφοδον) **4440** 14
- Δρόμου Γυμνασίου (ἄμφοδον) **4438** 13, **4440** 2
 Δρόμου Θεοῦριδος (ἄμφοδον) **4440** 6
- θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανείου (δύμη) **4441** vi 14
 Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς (ἄμφοδον) **4440** 24
- Μικρὰς Τεγμενούθειας (ἄμφοδον) **4441** v 8-9?
 Ὀννώφριος (δύμη) **4440** 11
 Πλατείας (ἄμφοδον) **4440** 22
 Τεγμενούθειας (ἄμφοδον. ἄ. Μικρὰς Τ.?) **4441** v 9

IX. RELIGION

- Ἀδριανεῖον **4441** vi 12
 Ἀθηνᾶ **4440** 1 (Ἄ. Θεῆρις)
 Ἀχιλλεῖον **4441** v 6
- θεός **4437** 1
 Θεῆρις **4440** 1 (Ἀθηνᾶ Θ.) *see also* Index VIII (c)
 s.v. Δρόμος
- ἱερόν **4441** v 17
 *ἱεροσαγηνίτης **4440** 1
- Δημητρεῖον **4441** vi 17
 Διονυσεῖον **4441** vi 17
- Τυχεῖον **4441** v 4

X. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

- βενεφικιάριος **4441** ii 9
 βιβλιοφύλαξ **4438** 22 (τῶν ἐγκτήσεων β.), 25
 βουλευτής **4438** 3, 9 **4439** 6 **4441** ii 3
- γυμνασιάρχος (**4436** i 16 **4438** 9) **4439** 6
- διασημότατος **4441** xii 5
- ἐγκτήσις **4438** 22
 ἐξηγητής (**4438** 3)
- ἐπιστρατηγός **4435** 16
 εὐθηνιάρχειν **4438** 11
- ἡγούμενος **4441** xii 5
- καταλογεῖον [**4438** 20]
 κοσμητής (**4436** ii 7)
 κράτιστος **4435** 16

X. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

- λεγιῶν γ-Κυρηναϊκή **4434** 2-3
 λειτουργία **4437** 2, 5, 6-7
 λογιστής **4441** i 2, [(ii 2)], iii 2, [ix 3, xii 4]
- μητάρχη **4441** ix 4-5
 μητρόπολις **4434** 4-5
- νομικός **4436** i 15
 νόμος Λαιτῶριος **4435** 13
- ὀπίων **4434** 2
- πρακτορεία ἀργυρικῶν **4437** 15
 πρεσβύτερος **4441** iii 4
- στρατηγός **4437** 11 **4438** 1
- ταμειὸν **4435** 11-12, **4437** 3, 7
- φύλαξ **4441** i 6

XI. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

- ἀρτυματοπώλης **4441** vi 11
 γραμματοδιδάσκαλος **4441** iv 18, 20
- ἱατρός **4441** i 3, ii 5 (δημόσιος λ.)
 *ἱεροσαγηνίτης **4440** 1
- κασσοπιός **4434** 3-4
 *κληδουργός **4441** ix 9
 κονιάτης **4441** ix 10
- *λαξολατόμος **4441** iii 3, xii 2, 18
 λαξός **4441** iii 3, 24, 25, 27
 λαχανοπώλης **4441** iv 23
- μάγειρος **4441** vi 19
 *μυθῆριος **4441** v 21
 μολυβουργός **4441** ix 7, 26 (μολιβ-)
- οἰκοδόμος **4441** ix 5, 25, xii [3], 20, xiv 2
 ὀπωροπώλης **4441** vi 10
 ὄρβιοπώλης **4441** vi 16
- πλακουντᾶς **4441** vi 10
- τέκτων **4441** iii 3-4, 20, xii 3, xiv 4
- ὑαλοουργός **4441** ix 8
- χειριστής **4441** v 18, 20

XII. MEASURES

(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

- ἀρτάβη **4439** 8-9
- δάκτυλος **4441** xii 19, xiv 6
- κεντηνάριον **4441** (ix 29 (bis)), x 20, 23, (23)
- μῶιον **4441** x 25, 26? 31
- πήχυς **4441** viii 7, xii 18, xiv 8, 10
- τετράχοον (**4436** ii 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15,
 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27)

(b) MONEY

- δραχμή (**4436** i 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, ii 8)

XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

- ἄβωλος **4439** 15
 ἀγοράζειν **4438** 5
 ἄγραφος <**4433** 18>
 ἀγρός **4436** ii 2
- ἀγών **4435** 20, 22
 ἀδελφή **4438** 17
 ἀδελφός **4440** 5, 17, 21 **4441** ii 10
 ἄδολος **4439** 14

- αἶθριον **4438** 14
 αἰρεῖν **4437** 5 **4439** 30
 αἵτημα **4435** 7
 ἀκράβεια **4441** xii 6, 9?
 ἀλλά **4437** 4
 ἀλληλεγγύη **4439** 28
 ἄλλος **4433** 14, 17 **4435** 9 **4436** ii 4, 11, 17, 24 **4441** iii 4, 7, 10, 17, x 21–22
 ἄλωος **4439** 13
 ἄμα **4441** iii 11
 ἄμφοδον *see* Index VIII (c)
 ἀμφοτέροι **4438** 3 **4439** 4–5
 ἀναγκάζειν **4435** 10
 ἀναγραφὴ **4440** 1
 ἀναλαμβάνειν **4437** 5
 ἀναμφοδάρχης *see* Index VIII (c) s.v. *Ἀναμφοδάρχων*
 ἀναπέμπεω **4438** 21
 ἀναφέρειν **4436** ii 2, 10, 12, 13, 14
 ἀνηβος **4435** 2
 ἀνὴρ **4433** 13
 ἀντέγειν **4437** 17
 ἀντί **4441** iv 10
 ἀντικρύ **4441** v 17, vi 14, 17
 ἀντονομάζειν **4437** 13–14
 ἄνωθεν **4441** i 12
 ἀνώτερος **4441** v 19
 ἀξία **4435** 10
 ἀξιοῦν **4435** 7 **4438** 24
 ἀπάτη **4435** 22
 ἀπελεύθερος **4435** 21
 ἀπέχεω **4439** 8
 ἀπηλιώτης **4441** iv 2
 ἀπηλιωτικός **4441** v 23, vi 7, [14?]
 ἀπλοῦς **4433** 18
 ἀπό **4433** 2, 6, 9 **4436** ii 2, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25 **4437** 13 **4439** 4 **4441** i 3, ii 4, 9, iii 22, iv 2, 7, v 23, [ix 10]
 ἀποδημεῖν **4435** 3 (*bis*)
 ἀποδιδόναι **4434** 12 **4439** 10, 19
 ἀπαλείπειν **4433** 10–11, 26
 ἀποπληροῦν **4437** 7
 ἀργυρικός *see* Index X, s.v. *πρακτορεία ἀργυρικών*
 ἀριθμός **4441** xii 19?
 ἀριστέρος **4441** i 9, 10, 12, 13, ii 16
 ἀρτάβη *see* Index XII (a)
 ἀρτυματοπόλης *see* Index XI
 ἀρχαῖος **4441** iii 7
 ἄρχων **4441** iv 2, 7, v 23
 ἀρχή **4441** xii 8?
 ἀσφάλεια **4438** 28
 ἀσφαλής **4441** iii 8
 αὐλή **4438** 15
 αὐθόθι **4438** 22
 Ἀντοκράτωρ *see* Index III s.v. *Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Severus and Caracalla, Valerian and Gallienus, Constantine and Licinius*
 αὐτός (same) **4433** 6, 9 **4437** 16 **4439** 13 **4440** 5, 17, 21 **4441** i 7, ii 4, iii 16, iv 13, 14, 17, v 8, 22, vi [3?], 6, 7, 13, [14?], 19, viii 2, ix 13, 28, x 22
 αὐτός (he, she, it) **4435** 5, 9, 11 **4438** 27 **4441** i 5, ii 10, 11, iii 22–23
 ἄφεςσις **4435** 20
 ἄχρηστος **4441** iv 19
 ἀχρηστοῦν **4441** iv 10
 ἄψις **4441** iv 17
 βάθος **4441** xiv 1?
 βαλανεῖον **4441** [viii 2? ix 28?] x 7, 27 *see also* Index VIII (c) s.v. *θερμῶν δημοσίου β.*
 βάρος **4437** 2
 βέβαιος **4435** 8
 βενεφικιάριος *see* Index X
 βῆμα [4435 9]
 βία **4441** iii 8
 βιβλίδιον **4438** 24 (*bis*) **4441** i 4, ii 6, 10
 βιβλιοθήκη **4441** v 8
 βιβλιοφύλαξ *see* Index X
 βλάπτειν **4437** 9
 βοήθεια **4435** [3], 5, [19, 20]
 βοηθεῖν **4435** 11 (*ter*)
 βόρινος **4441** [iv 2], xiv 11
 βορρᾶς **4441** v 23, vi 4
 βουλευτής *see* Index X
 βραχιῶν **4441** i 11, ii 17
 βρέγμα **4441** i 7
 γάρ **4437** 7
 γενέσιος **4436** ii 5
 γένημα **4436** ii 4, 10 **4439** 9
 γίνεσθαι **4433** 3 **4437** 4 **4441** i 5, 6–7, ii 12, iv 10, 13, 19, 22? xii 17
 γίνεσθαι (**4436** ii 27) **4439** 26 **4441** x 27
 γνώμων **4435** 1
 γονάτιον **4441** i 12
 γράμμα **4441** iii 17, 23
 γραμματοδιδάκκαλος *see* Index XI
 γραπτός **4433** 18
 γράφειν **4439** 24 **4441** iii 17, 22
 γυμναστάρχος *see* Index X
 γυμνάσιον *see* Index VIII (c)
 γυνή **4433** 4–5
 δάκτυλος **4441** i 11 *see also* Index XII (a)
 δέ **4433** 12 **4435** [3], 9, [11] **4439** 19 **4441** iv 6, vi 4, 11, 17, ix 26, xii 20, xiv 2
 δεῖν **4438** 25
 δεῖσθαι **4441** iii 12 (*bis*), iv 4, 8, 12, 17, v 9, 13, 16, 17, 20, [21], vi 9, [12], 15, 18, viii 1, 3, xii 16?

- δέκα **4441** viii 9
 δέκατος **4439** 17
 δεξιός **4441** i 9, 10, 11 (*bis*), 13, ii 18
 δεσπότης *see* Index III s.v. *Constantine and Licinius*;
 IV s.v. *AD 315*
 δηλοῦν **4441** ii 13, iv 19, vi 4
 δημόσιος [4435 2] **4441** iii 11, viii 6, xii 7 *see also*
 Index VIII (c) s.v. *θερμῶν δ. βαλανείου*; XI
 s.v. *λατρός*
 δημοσιῶν **4438** 19–20
 διά **4434** 6 **4436** ii 1? 16? 33 **4437** 2, 18 **4438**
 [20], 30 **4441** iii 4, iv 13, 19, 22, 23, v 18, 20,
 22, vi 3, 6, 10, 13, 16, 19, [xii 3?]
 διαγορεύειν [4435 5–6?]
 διάθεσις **4441** i 6, ii 11
 διαίρεσις **4441** i 7, ii 15
 διασημώτατος *see* Index X
 διάστρομα **4438** 27
 διαφέρειν **4441** iii 6
 διάφορος **4439** 11, 18–19
 διδασκαλεῖον **4441** iv 18
 διδόναι **4436** ii 8?
 διέρχεσθαι **4439** 9–10
 διορθοῦν **4441** iv 6
 διόρθωσις **4441** iii 12, iv 12, 17, 22, v 9, viii 3
 δις **4439** 24
 δοκίς **4441** xiv 5
 δοκός **4441** xiv 7
 δραχμή *see* Index XII (b)
 δρόμος *see* Index VIII (c)
 δύναμις **4437** 14
 δυνατός **4435** 13
 δύο **4436** ii 15 **4438** 7, 15 **4441** i 8, 13, iv 9
 εἰς **4435** 9 **4439** 19, 28 **4441** ii 11
 ἐγγιστα **4441** v 13
 ἐγγράφειν **4441** ii 9–10, iii 12, ix 17
 ἐγγράφως **4441** i 6, ii 11–12
 ἐγγύς **4441** v 15
 ἐγκαλεῖν **4433** 15, 16
 ἐγκτησις *see* Index X
 ἐγχρηζέειν **4441** ix 25, 25a, x 5
 ἐγώ **4433** 4, 12 **4435** 10 **4436** ii 1 **4438** 30 *see also* s.v. *ἡμεῖς*
 ἔθνος **4435** [19], 22
 εἰ **4435** 4, 15, 19, 21 **4437** 2
 εἰδέναι **4441** iii 17, 23
 εἴκοσι **4435** 4 **4441** viii 7
 εἶναι **4437** 3 **4439** 28 **4441** i 4, 7, iii 7
 εἰς **4436** ii 15 **4437** 4, 9, 15 [4439 28] **4441** i 13,
 v 21, xii 16, xiv 3, 9, 11
 εἶς **4441** iv 9, xii 18
 εἴσοδος **4438** 16
 ἐκ **4433** 19 **4434** 11 **4435** 1, 7, 13, 19, 21 **4438**
 20 **4439** 11, 28, 29, 30 **4441** i 4, ii 6, vi 4, viii
 10, x 25, 30? 31, xii 18, xiv 8, 10
 ἕκαστος **4441** iii 4, x 25? 31? [xii 4?]
 ἐκδιδόναι **4434** 9–10
 ἐκδικεῖν **4435** 20, 23
 ἐκείνος **4441** v 19
 ἐκεῖσε **4441** v 13, vi 14, 15
 ἐκτελεῖν **4439** 29
 ἐκτίνειν **4439** 21
 ἐλάττων **4435** 4, [10]
 ἐμπεῖρος **4441** iii 11
 ἐν **4436** ii 6 **4437** 10 **4441** i 5, 6, ii 7
 ἐνδομενία **4433** 14
 ἐνεκεν **4435** 3
 ἐνιστάται **4433** 20–21 **4439** 12
 ἐντός **4439** 11, 20
 ἐντυγχάνειν **4435** 16
 ἐξ **4441** v 11
 ἐξαγορεῖον **4441** v 13
 ἐξαπατᾶν **4435** 4
 ἐξηγητής *see* Index X
 ἐξῆς **4441** iii 3, 5, 12, ix 17, xii 4
 ἐξοδος **4438** 16
 ἐπάνω **4433** 20
 ἐπέρχεσθαι **4433** 16
 ἐπερωτᾶν **4439** 31–32
 ἐπί **4435** 2, 5 **4438** 7, 13, 23 **4439** 13 **4441** i 9,
 13, 14, ii 12, iii 13, iv 6, 14, v 19, viii 2, ix 18, 28,
 [x 22?]
 ἐπιδιδόναι **4438** 24, 31 **4441** i 4, ii 6, 24, iii 18,
 20–21, 24, 25–26, 27
 ἐπιζητεῖν **4441** ix 11
 ἐπικεῖσθαι **4441** vi 5
 ἐπικινδύνως **4441** vi 18
 ἐπιμέλεια **4441** iii 5
 ἐπιπλα **4433** 13
 ἐπισκευή **4441** v 16, 18, 21, vi 9, ix 17–18, xii 16
 ἐπιστέλλειν **4438** 25 **4441** [i 4], ii 5, iii 5
 ἐπιστράτηγος *see* Index X
 ἐπιτιμία **4437** 9
 ἐπίτροπος **4435** 8
 ἐπιφανής *see* Index III s.v. *Valerian and Gallienus*
 ἐπιφέρειν **4439** 24–25, 26
 ἐποίκιον **4441** i 5, 6 *see also* Index VIII (b) s.v.
 Ἡμοβελίτου
 ἐπτά **4441** viii 7
 ἐργασία **4441** xii 4
 ἐργάτης **4441** ix 25a
 ἔργον **4441** iii 10, 11
 ἔρεισις **4441** v 13
 ἔρεισμα **4441** xiv 9
 ἐρμηνεύειν **4435** 13
 ἔτερος **4441** iv 8
 ἔτι **4441** iii 7

ἔτος **4434** 12 **4435** 4 **4439** 10
 (ἔτος) **4433** 22 **4435** 2 **4436** ii 4, 10 **4437**
 10 **4438** 5, 28 **4439** 13, 33 **4441** i 14, iii 13
 εὐδοκεῖν **4438** 16–17
 εὐδόκησις **4438** 20–21
 εὐθημιαρχεῖν *see* Index X
 εὐλογος **4435** 5 **4437** 3
 εὐσεβής *see* Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla,
 Valerian and Gallienus
 εὐτυχήσκειν *see* Index III s.v. Valerian and Gallienus
 ἐφιέμαι **4437** 8
 ἐφορᾶν **4441** i 5, 7, ii 9, 14, iii 7
 ἔχων **4435** 19, 21 **4436** ii 3, 26 **4441** i 7, ii 14–15,
 iii 10, vi 18
 ἐψία **4441** x 24?
 ἔως **4436** ii 11, 22, 25

ζητεῖν **4436** ii 28
 ζυτωπώλειον **4441** vi 15

ἦ **4433** 18 **4435** 3
 ἠγείσθαι **4435** 19, 22 *see also* Index X s.v. ἠγοούμενος
 ἠλικία **4435** [5], 19, [21]
 ἡμεῖς **4437** 3, 7 **4438** 6, 7, 27 **4439** 27, 29,
 31 **4441** ix 26, xii 18, 20, xiv 2, 4
 ἡμέρα **4433** 21 **4441** i 4
 ἡμέτερος [**4435** 9, 11]
 ἡμιολία **4439** 21–22
 ἡμικος (**4441** x 19, 20) *
 ἦτοι **4441** xii 16

θεῖος **4441** ix 15
 θεός *see* Index III s.v. Severus and Caracalla
 θέρμαι *see* Index VIII (c) s.v. θερμῶν

ιατρεῖον **4441** iv 8
 ἱατρός *see* Index XI s.v. δημόσιος ἱατρός
 ιδιόγραφος **4438** 4, 19
 ιδιώτης **4435** 11
 ἱερὸν *see* Index IX
 ἱερός **4441** vi 17 (*bis*), xii 15
 *ἱεροσαγηνίτης **4440** 1
 ἴκρια **4441** x 27
 ἴκος **4441** iv 10, v 7, 20

καθαρός **4439** 14
 καινουργία **4441** x 6
 κακός **4441** iii 10
 Καλάνδαι *see* Index V (b)
 καλεῖν **4441** ii 13–14
 καλῶς **4439** 16
 κάμικος **4441** x 22, 25, 31
 κασσοπιός *see* Index XI

κατὰ **4435** 2 **4436** i 3, ii 11, 23, 26 **4438** 4 **4441**
 i 7, 8, 9 (*bis*), 10, 11 (*ter*), 12, 13, ii 16, 17, iii 6, 8
 κατάγειον **4436** ii 18, 20, 21, 23–24 **4438** 14
 καταγιγνεσθαι **4441** ii 7
 καταλαμβάνειν **4441** ii 11
 καταλογεῖον *see* Index X
 καταρρήγνυμι **4441** iii 8
 κατάστροφικὸς **4441** xiv 3
 κάτωθεν **4441** i 8
 κεντηνάριον *see* Index XII (a)
 κεραμῖς **4441** ix 23
 κεφάλαιον **4435** 1, 13
 κεφαλή **4441** i 9, ii 15
 *κληδουργός *see* Index XI
 κληρονόμος **4438** 7–8
 κλητήρῃς **4441** i 7, ii 14
 κοινόν **4441** iii 3, xii 2
 κοιτών **4441** iv 3
 κονία **4441** x 24
 κοιναίτης *see* Index XI
 κοπρία **4441** x 30
 κοπριακός **4441** x 30
 κορυφή **4441** i 8
 κοσκινεύειν **4439** 15
 κοσμητής *see* Index X
 κράτιστος *see* Index X
 κριθή **4439** 8
 κρόταφος **4441** i 9
 κτήμα **4436** ii 14, 16, 17
 κύριος (guardian) **4433** 7
 κύριος (normative) **4433** 22 **4439** 23
 κύριος (lord, lady) *see* Index III
 κάμη **4437** 13 **4439** 4, 13 **4441** ii 8
 κωμητικός **4437** 15–16

λαμπρός **4441** i 3 (*bis*), ii 3 (*bis*), ix 10 (*bis*), xii 3 (*bis*)
see also Index IV s.v. AD 316

*λαξολατόμος *see* Index XI
 λαξός *see* Index XI
 λαχανοπώλης *see* Index XI
 λεαινεῖν **4441** v 19
 λέγειν **4435** 9, 10
 λεγιών *see* Index X
 λειτουργία *see* Index X
 λήμμα **4437** 16
 λιβικός **4436** ii 17 **4441** iv [5?], 14, v 8
 λίθος **4441** iv 15, 16, xii 18
 λογιστής *see* Index X
 λοιτός **4441** v 12

μάγειρος *see* Index XI
 μάκελλος **4441** v 11
 μέγας **4434** 8
 μέγιστος **4440** 1 **4441** i 11 *see also* Index III s.v.
 Severus and Caracalla

μέις **4435** 2
 μέν **4433** 12 **4435** 11 **4441** i 7, iv 9, xii 18
 μένιν **4435** 8
 μέρος **4435** 2 **4436** i 3, ii 11, 23, 26 **4441** i 9
 μετά **4433** 7 **4435** 9 **4439** 21 **4441** i 7, 8, 10
 (*bis*), 11, 12, xii 6
 μεταλλάσσειν **4433** 3–4, 11–12 **4438** 6
 μετρεῖν **4439** 18
 μέτρον **4439** 16
 μέχρι **4433** 20 **4436** ii 3
 μή **4435** 8 **4437** 3 **4439** 19 **4441** iii 17, 23
 μήδε **4433** 15, 16, [17]
 μηδεῖς **4433** 15, 17–18, 21 [**4441** ix 19?]
 μήκος **4441** viii 10–11, xii 18, xiv 8, 10
 μῆν **4441** iii 7
 μνημάρχης *see* Index X
 μνηρός **4441** i 12, 13
 μήτε **4433** 17
 μήτηρ **4433** 2, 5, 8 **4437** 12, 14 **4438** 6 **4439**
 3 **4440** 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25
 μητρόπολις *see* Index X
 *μιθράριος *see* Index XI
 μικρός **4441** v 8?
 μολυβδος [**4441** ix 28?]
 μολυβουργός *see* Index XI
 μόνος **4438** 7
 μῶϊον *see* Index XII (a)

νέος **4439** 14 *see also* νεώτερος
 νεώτερος **4435** [7], 9
 νομικός *see* Index X
 νόμος **4435** 13
 νότινος **4441** vi 20

ξενικός **4441** xiv 5, 9
 ξυστός **4441** x 21

ὄδε **4438** 23
 ὄθεν **4441** i 6, 13, ii 12, [19], iii 9
 ὄδημα **4441** i 9, 10 (*bis*), 11, 12
 οἰκείος **4441** iii 9
 οἰκία **4438** 13 **4441** iv 15, v 21, vi 2, 4? 11
 οἰκοδόμημα **4441** iii 6, 10, xii 7
 οἰκοδόμος *see* Index XI
 οἶκος **4436** ii 6
 οἶνος **4436** ii 4, 7, 10, 17
 ὀκλή **4441** ix 28–29, x 2, 20
 ὀμαλής **4441** v 6?
 ὀμνῆναι [**4441** ix 14]
 ὀμογνήσιος **4438** 17
 ὀμοίως **4436** ii 10, 13, 19, 20, 21 **4441** ix 25a
 ὀμολογεῖν **4433** 9–10 **4439** 32–33 **4441** ix 14
 ὀμοῦ **4441** x 23
 ὄνομα **4436** ii 33

ὄζος **4436** i 15?
 ὄπτός **4441** ix 24
 ὄπτων *see* Index X
 ὄπωροπώλης *see* Index XI
 ὄρβιοπωλείον **4441** vi 14
 ὄρβιοπώλης *see* Index XI
 ὄρκος **4441** ix 15
 ὄς **4434** 9, 10 **4436** ii 24, 26 **4437** 5 **4438** 14,
 19 **4439** 17, 29 **4441** ii 11, iv 10, v 7, 20
 ὄσος **4441** iii 7
 ὄσπερ **4439** 10
 ὄστέον **4441** i 8 (*bis*)
 ὄστις **4441** i 4
 ὄστράκινος **4441** ix 23
 οὐ **4435** 5, 11 (*bis*) **4437** 8
 οὐδέ **4437** 8, 9
 οὖν **4435** 11
 οὐτος **4433** 17 **4438** 15, 17 **4441** i 8, iii 6, iv 15
 οὕτως **4435** 2 **4441** iv 6
 ὀφείλειν **4441** iv 10, v 7

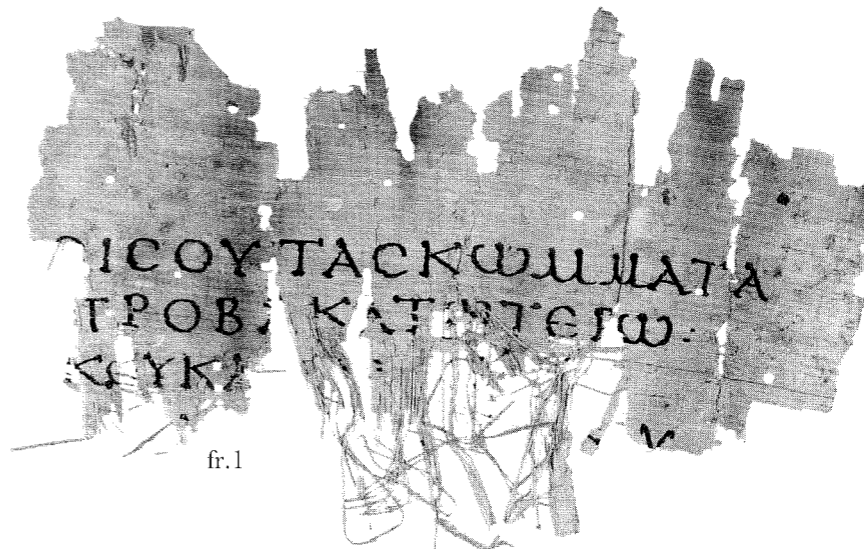
παλαιός **4436** ii 14? 16?
 παλαιούν **4441** iv 8, 16?, v 4–5, 11, 15?, vi 5, 12, 18
 παλάτιον **4441** xii 15
 πανταχῇ **4439** 24
 πάνυ **4441** iv 10, v 11, vi 5, 12, 18
 παρά **4437** 12, 14 **4438** 2, 8, 26–27 **4439** 8, 18,
 27 **4441** i 3, ii 4, iii 3, ix 4, [xii 2]
 παράθεσις **4438** 26
 παραλαμβάνειν **4433** 10, 25 **4434** 7 **4439** 17
 παρανόμος [**4435** 8]
 παραχωρεῖν **4437** 2–3
 παραχώρησις **4437** 4, 8
 παρεῖναι **4441** iii 23
 παρεμβολή *see* Index VIII (c) s.v. Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς
 παρέχειν **4437** 6
 παρεύρεσις **4433** 21
 πᾶς **4433** 14 **4438** 16 **4439** 25, 31 **4441** [i 13],
 iii 6 (*bis*), [ix 10], xii 6
 πατεῖν **4439** 16
 πατήρ **4433** 4, 12 **4438** 30
 πάχος **4441** xiv 6
 πελῖωμα **4441** i 10 (*bis*), 12
 πέντε **4434** 9 **4435** 4 **4439** 9
 πενήκοντα **4434** 8–9 **4441** x 25–26?
 πέρας **4441** i 13 (*bis*)
 περί **4433** 17 (*bis*) **4441** i 5, ii 8, 11
 περιγράφειν **4435** [4?] 10 [15?]
 περιεῖναι **4438** 5–6
 περιέρχεται **4441** iii 9
 περιέχειν **4438** 19
 πήχυς *see* Index XII (a)
 πιπράσκειν **4435** 8, 10
 πλακουντᾶς *see* Index XI

- πλατεία *see* Index VIII (c) s.v. Πλατείας
 πλάτος **4441** xiv 5
 πλευρά **4441** i 13
 πλήγμα **4441** i 11
 πλήρης **4434** 11–12
 πλήρσειν **4441** i 5–6?
 πλίνθος **4441** ix 24, xii 20
 ποιείν **4438** 26
 πόλις **4433** 6, 9 **4435** 6 **4441** ii 5, iii 6, 7, 9, vi 12, ix 13; *see also* Index VIII (a), s.vv. Ἀλεξανδρεῦς, Ὁξυρυχιτῶν π., Ὁξυρύχων π.
 πολιτικός **4437** 6 **4441** iii 9–10, viii 6
 πολύς **4435** 10
 ποτε **4441** vi 11
 ποτέος **4436** ii 10, 12, 15
 πράγμα **4433** 18–19
 πρακτορεία *see* Index X
 πράξις **4439** 27
 πράξις **4438** 4, 19
 πρεσβύτερος *see* Index X
 πρό **4435** 7
 προθεσμία **4439** 11
 προκείσθαι **4438** 26 **4439** 20 **4441** ii 24, iii 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27
 πρόσ **4435** 4 **4438** 21 **4441** iii 8, iv 8, 10, 18, 21, v 4, 6 (*bis*), 8, 11, 13, 15, 19, 21, vi 2, 7 (*bis*), 9, 11 (*bis*), 14, 15, x 24
 προσέρχεσθαι **4435** 9
 προσπαράκεισθαι **4441** iii 10–11, iv 21
 προσφωνεῖν **4436** ii 32 **4441** i 6, 13, ii 12, 19, 24, iii 11–12, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26, 27
 προτιθέσθαι **4435** 20, 23 **4437** 10
 πτώσις **4441** vi 5
- ρύμη **4440** 11 **4441** vi 14
- σεαυτοῦ **4437** 3
 σεβάσμιος [**4441** ix 14]
 Σεβαστός *see* Index III s.v. Hadrian, Severus and Caracalla, Constantine and Licinius; IV s.v. AD 315
 σημαίνειν **4433** 11
 σίφων **4436** ii 12, 15
 σκεῦος **4433** 13
 σός **4441** iii 5
 σπείρα **4441** iv 8
 στάβλος **4441** iv 10
 στερεῖν [**4435** 8]
 στοά **4441** [iv 2, 6? 14], v 8, 23, vi 7, 9, 15 (*bis*), 17, 20, xiv 3, 11
 στρατηγός *see* Index X
 στῶλος **4441** v 11, 12
 σύ **4433** 12, 15 **4436** i 5, ii 2, 10, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23 **4437** 4, 5, 6, [9], 10, 18 **4439** 8, 11, 18, 20, 21, 26, 27, 32 **4441** i 4, 6, ii 5, 6, ix 11 *see also* ἡμεῖς
 συγγενής **4433** 7
 συμπεθεῖν **4436** ii 24, 26
 σύν **4438** 6 **4439** 11, 18
 συνεπιδιδόναι **4441** iii 15–16
 συνήθης **4435** 3
 σύνολος **4433** 19
 κυρία **4434** 8
 σωλήν **4441** ix 27
 σῶμα **4437** 9–10
- ταμείον *see* Index X
 τάσσειν **4441** iii 3
 τε [**4435** 8] **4439** 27 **4441** iii 3, vi 5, xii 2
 τέκτων *see* Index XI
 τέλειος **4435** 5
 τετράχοον *see* Index XII (a)
 τέχνη **4441** iii 4
 τέως **4441** iii 9
 τιμή **4434** 11 **4436** ii 8
 τίμημα **4437** 6
 τίς **4435** 11
 τις **4435** 7, 9
 τοιοῦτος **4437** 8
 τοῖχος **4441** iv 3, 12, 16, 21 (*bis*), vi 4, 15, 17
 τόμος **4441** iii 12
 τόπος **4437** 17 **4441** v 9, 15, 19, 21, vi 7, 9 (*bis*), [xii 16?]
 τραῦμα **4441** i 8 (*bis*)
 τρεῖς **4441** v 12
 τριακάς **4439** 12
 τριπυργιαῖος **4438** 14
 τρίτος (**4434** 3) **4439** 11
 τρώσις **4441** i 12 (*bis*), 13 (*bis*)
 τυγχάνειν **4435** 5
- δαλουργός *see* Index XI
 ὑβρίζειν **4437** 10
 υἱός **4436** ii 5, 31 **4438** 7, 10
 ἡμεῖς **4434** 10, 11 *see also* σύ
 ὑπάρχειν **4435** 3 **4437** 5–6 **4439** 30 **4441** iii 8–9
 ὑπατεία *see* Index IV s.vv. AD 315, AD 316
 ὑπέρ **4438** 27 **4439** 25 **4441** iii 17, 22
 ὑπηρέσις **4441** xii 16
 ὑπό **4433** 11 **4435** 8 **4437** 14 **4438** 14 **4439** 32 **4441** i 4, ii 5, 6, [iii 5], vi 15
 ὑποβάλλειν **4441** v 7, 20
 ὑπογράφειν **4441** iii 5, xii 4
 ὑπόγνιος **4441** v 14
 ὑποκολλᾶν **4438** 23
 ὑπορραφή **4441** v 14, viii 1
 ὑποστέλλειν **4441** iii 7–8
 ὕψος **4441** xii 19

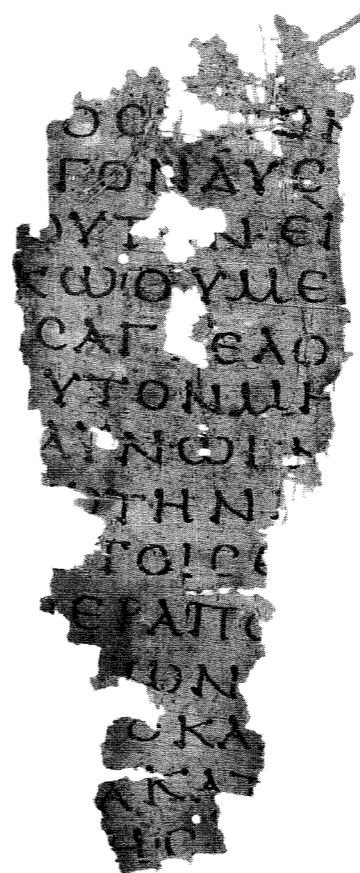
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 φανερός **4435** 4?
 φέρειν **4436** ii 18, 23
 φλειά **4441** v 19
 φοινίκιος **4441** xiv 7
 φύλαξ *see* Index X
 φυλάσσειν **4435** 6
- χαίρειν **4433** 9 **4439** 7
 χαλκίον **4441** ix 27
 χάρις **4436** ii 34
 χείρ **4433** 22 **4441** i 11, 12
 χειριστής *see* Index XI
 χειρόγραφον **4439** 23
 χθές **4441** i 4
 χρεία **4435** 3 **4441** ix 28
- χρηματίζειν **4433** 7–8 **4438** 11 **4441** ix 12
 χρηματισμός **4438** 22–23
 χρήσις **4441** x 2
 χρηστήριον **4438** 15
 χρόνος **4433** 20 **4439** 23 **4441** iii 8
 χωρίον **4435** 8, 10
- ψίλωσις **4441** i 7, 8
- ῶμοπλάτη **4441** i 10, ii 16
 ῶμός **4441** xii 20
 ὤμος **4441** i 10, ii 17
 ὤς **4437** 2 **4438** 10, 18, 26 **4441** ii 24, iii 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, ix 29
 ὤστε **4441** i 5, ii 9, iii 5, iv 15, xii 6
 ὠτίον **4441** i 10

XIV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

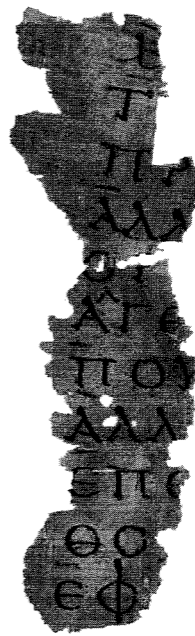
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| P. Mert. I 26 | 4441 v 13 n. | XLIII 3105 | 4435 5 n.; 4437 |
| I 53 | 4441 | PSI III 215 | 4441 v 13 n. |
| VI 983 | 4441 | PUG I 22 | 4441 vi 14 n. |
| VII 1020 | 4435 | P. Vindob. Bosw. 3 | 4438 5 n. |
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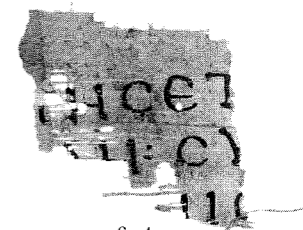
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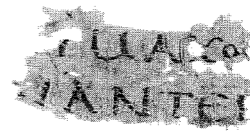
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ΟΔΙΑΙ
 ΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ
 ΑΙΟΝΑΙΟ
 ΑΙΟΝΑΙΟ
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 ΑΣΤΡΑΤΗΝΟ
 ΚΑΩΝ
 ΑΙΟΜΑΤΑΙ
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 ΑΠΟΡΩ
 ΡΟΜΕΝΟ

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ΠΟΡΕΥΟ
 ΑΥΤΩΙΚ

fr.3

ΗΝΤΙΣΟΥΔΕ
 ΕΣΤΙΝΗ
 ΥΚΛΗΡΟ

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ΝΟΥ
 ΚΙΝΗΣΘΑΚ
 ΔΕΛΛΘ
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ΣΩ
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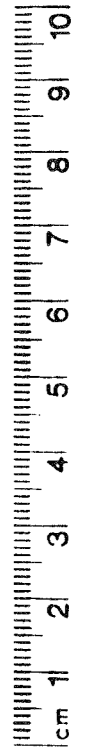
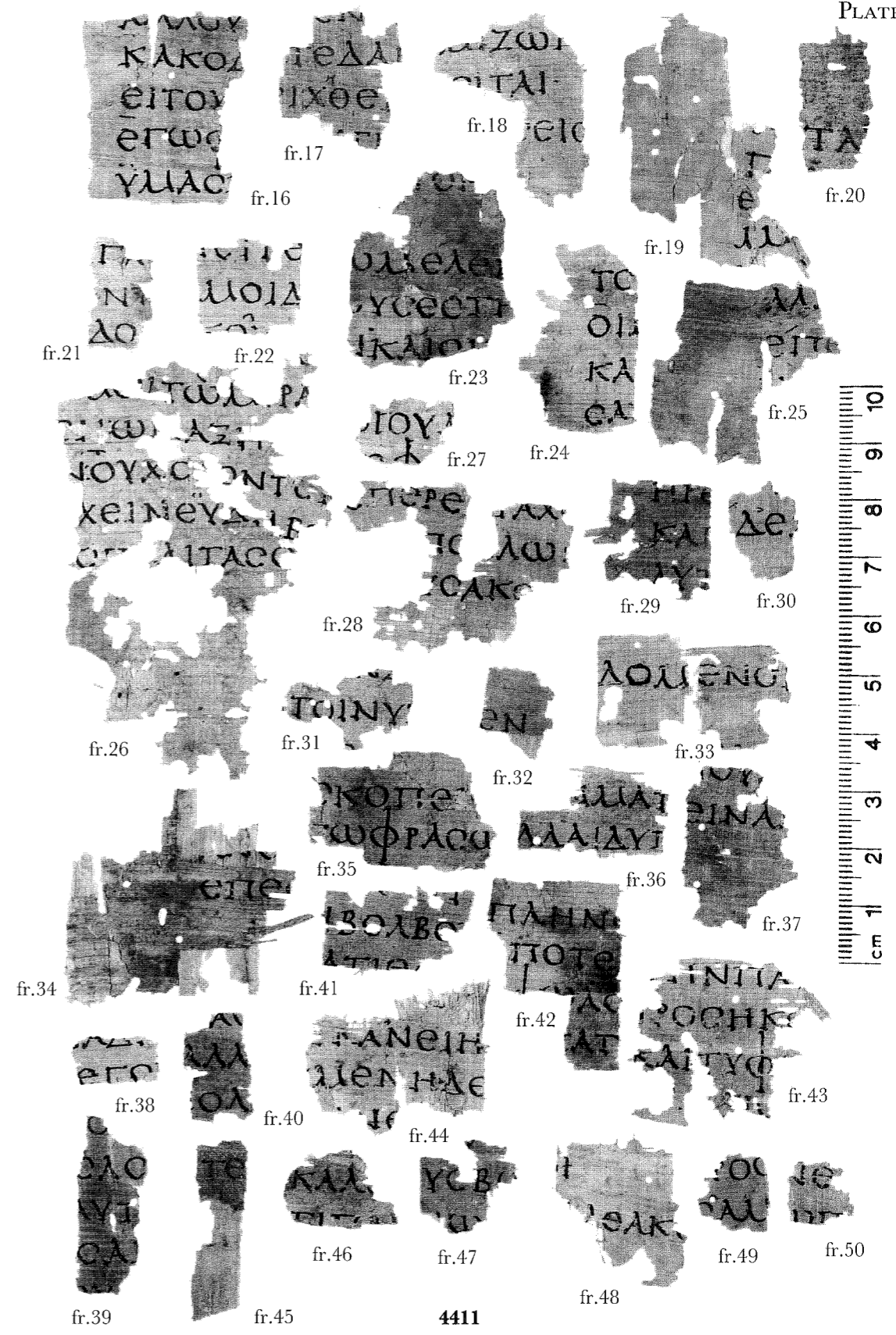
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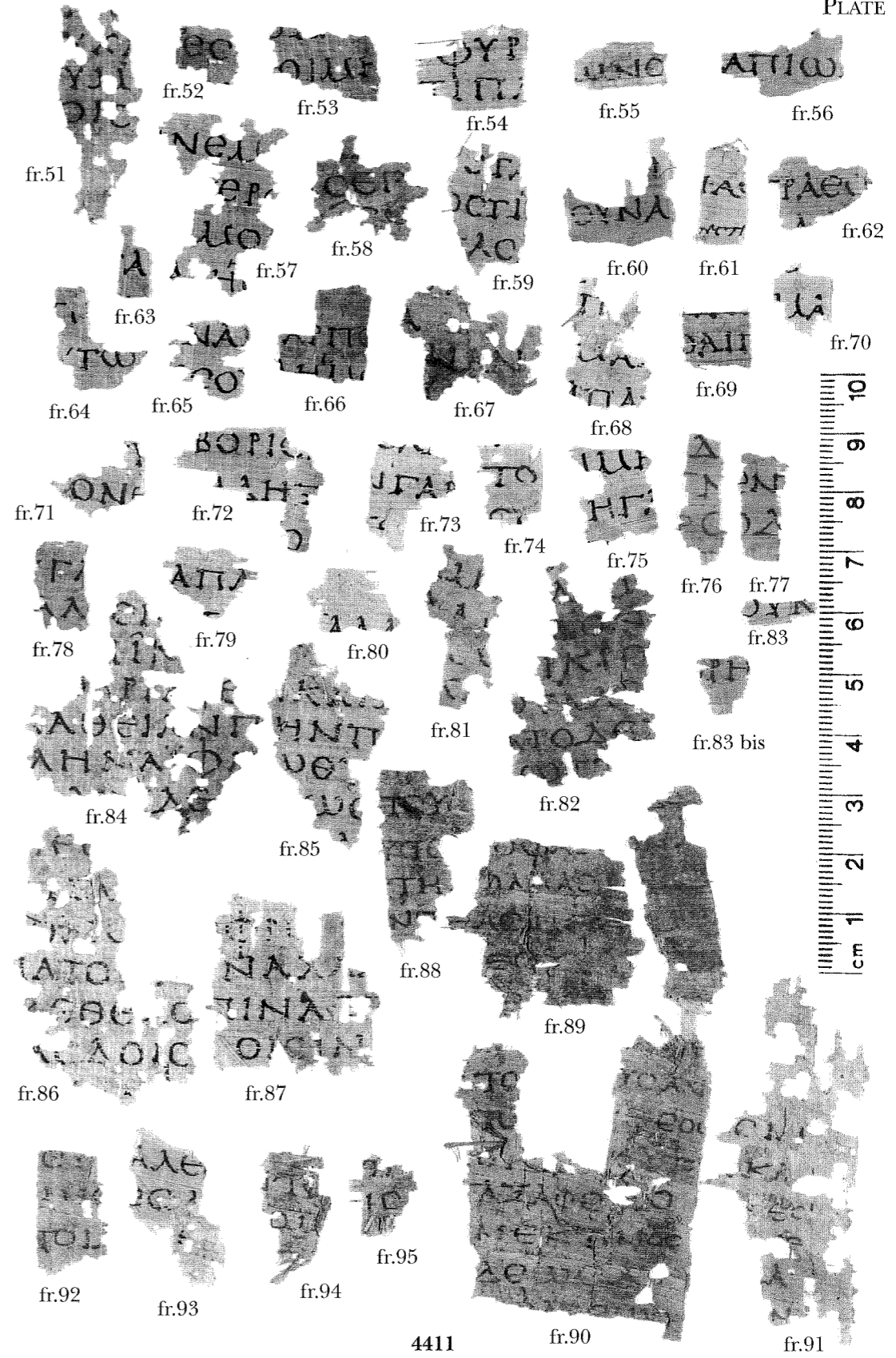
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ΥΚΟΜΙΣΑΟ
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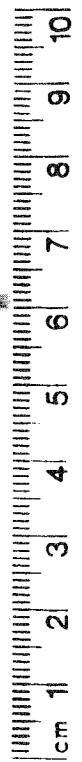
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ΗΘΑΕΙΓΑΝ
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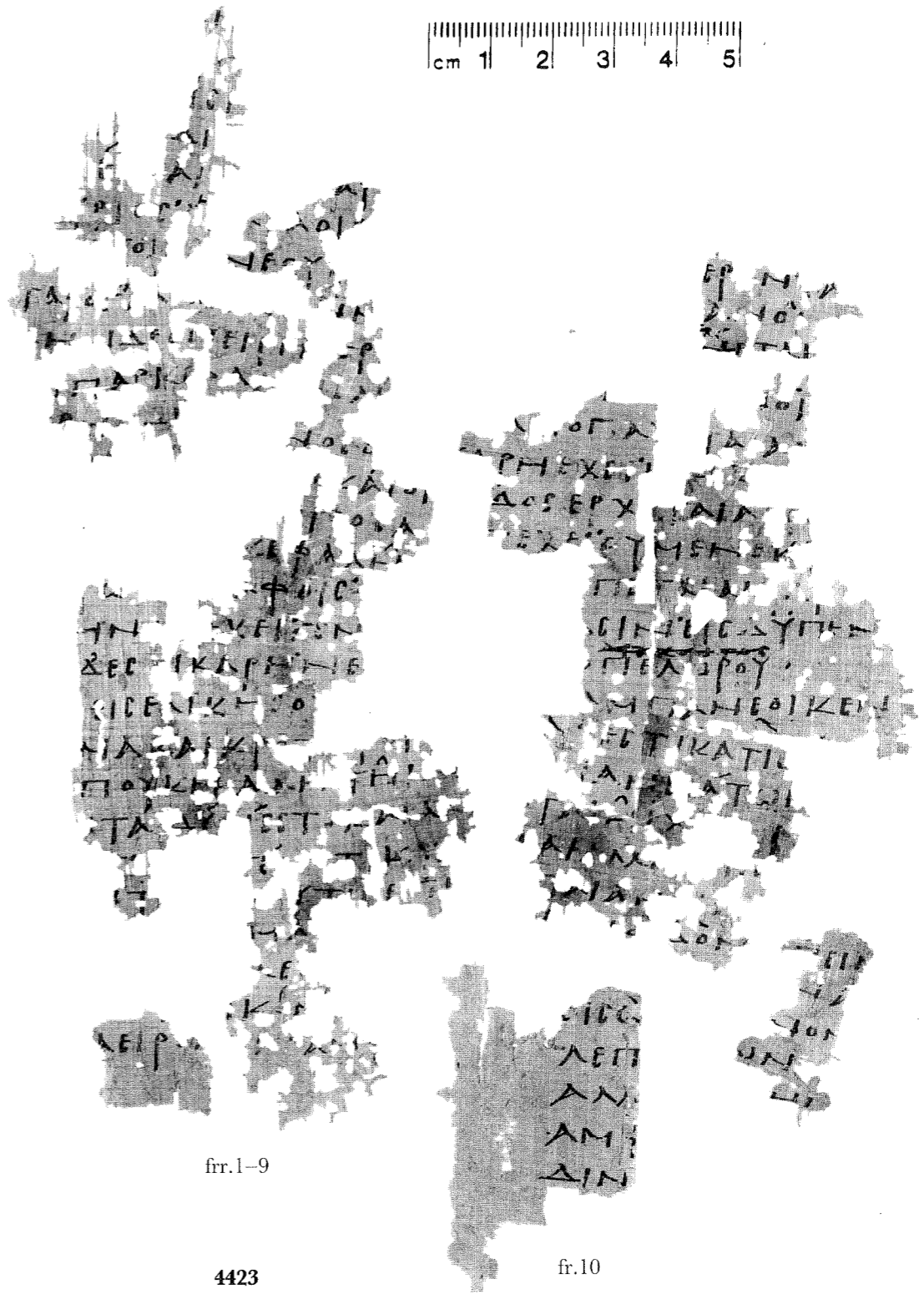
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4427

ΤΗ
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4424

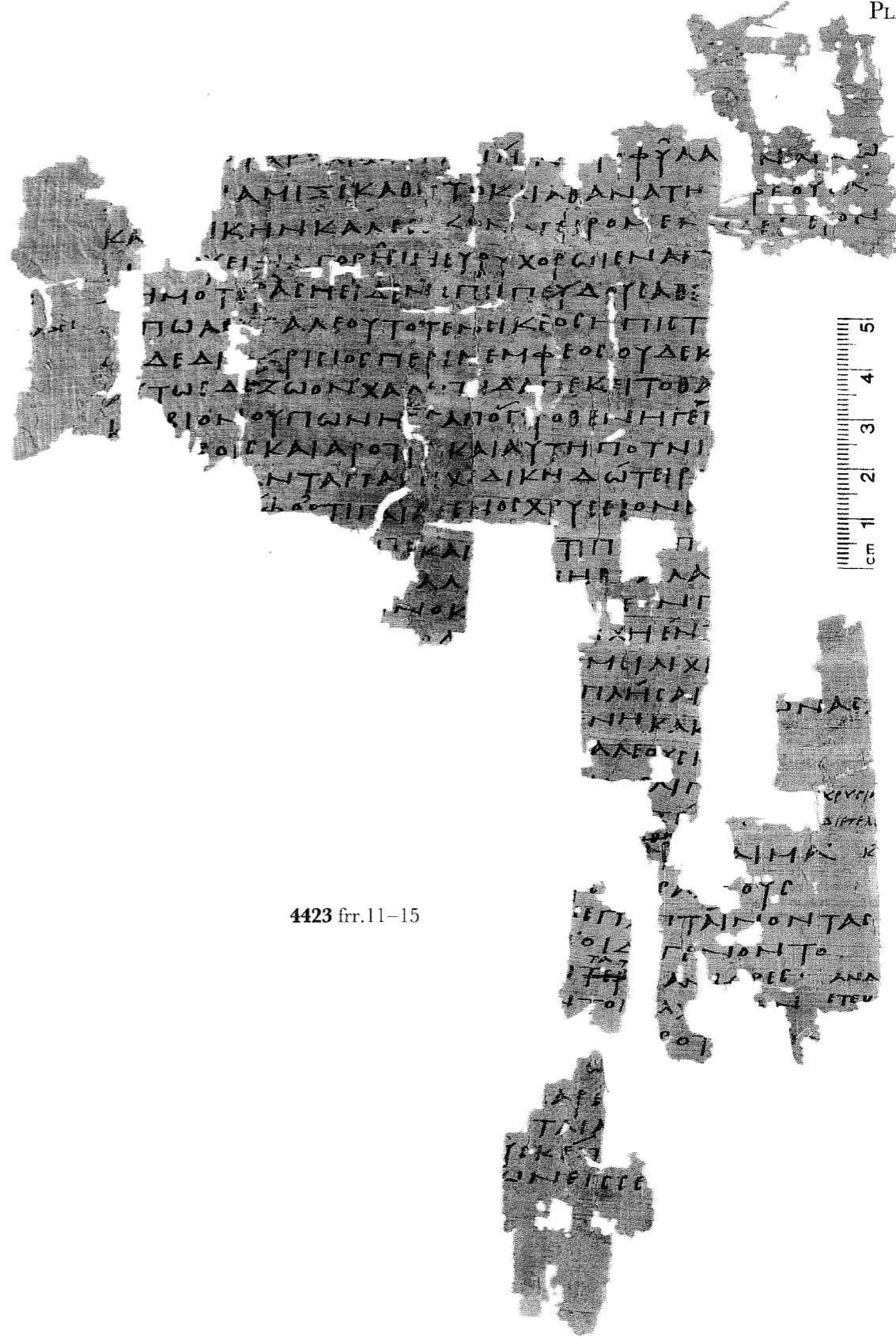




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ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΝ
ΑΝΑΔΗΜΟΥΣΤΕΣ

ΤΟ ΧΑΛΚΙΩΝ ΤΕΡΜΑΤΩΝ
ΜΕΤ' ΕΡΣΤΟΤΟΣ

ΘΑΝΩΦΡΙΣΤΑΝΤΟ ΜΕΤ' ΗΛΙΟΥ

ΧΡΩΣΤΟΤΙΔΕΣ

ΠΡΟΥΛΛΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ
ΜΕΤ' ΕΡΣΤΟΤΟΣ

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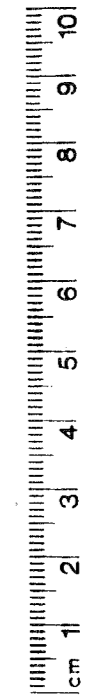
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ΧΙΩΝ

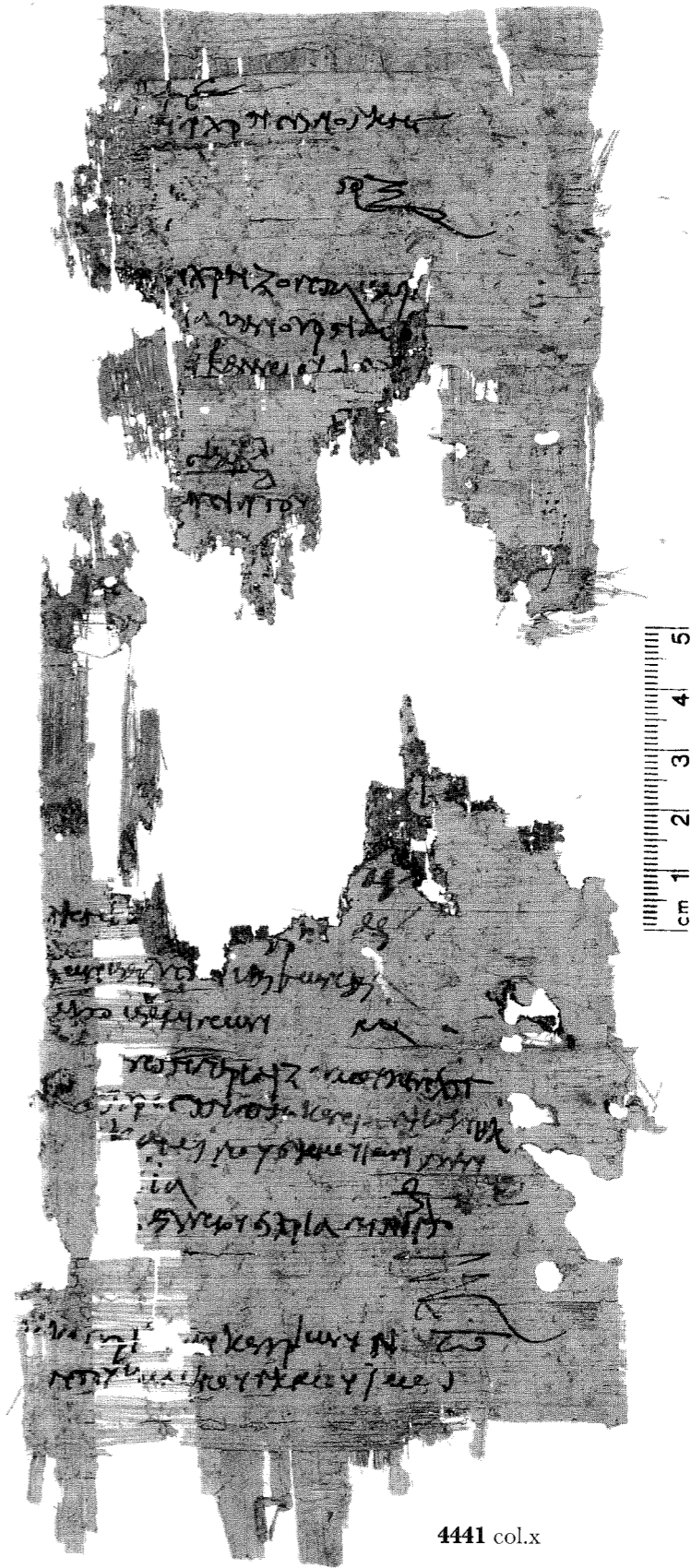
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ΑΝΩΝΟΝ ΜΕΤ' ΕΡΣΤΟΤΟΣ



Fragment of a papyrus scroll with approximately 20 lines of ancient Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is significantly obscured by numerous white, irregular spots and blotches, likely due to damage or mold. The fragment is roughly rectangular and appears to be a section of a larger document.



4441 col.v (reduced)



441 col.x